

INSIDE: The great debate on social programs

Maclean's

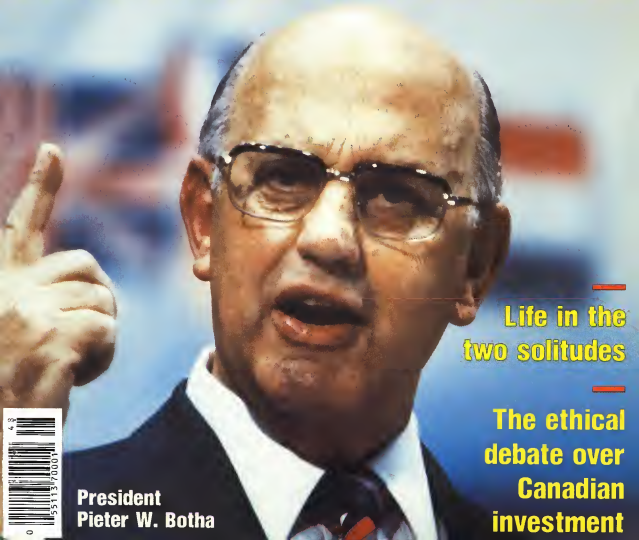
NOVEMBER 26, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.50

SPECIAL REPORT

South Africa's Perilous Transition



**Life in the
two solitudes**

**The ethical
debate over
Canadian
investment**

**President
Pieter W. Botha**



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE

Maclean's

NOVEMBER 26, 1984 VOL. 97 NO. 48

COVER

South Africa's transition

Pretoria's brutal policies of racial segregation have made South Africa one of the world's least-loved nations. Now these policies are under concerted attack, not only from abroad, but from politically disaffected black South Africans. The nation's white leaders are confronting a political powder keg which they must defuse.

—Page 28

PHOTO BY STEVE GRANITZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Setting the economic agenda
Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the premiers had an unusually amiable meeting last week, but tough bargaining lies ahead over economic policies.

—Page 34



Preparing for a showdown
As Nicaragua's left-wing rulers declared a state of military alert, Washington prepared diplomatic offensives designed to wrest concessions from Managua.

—Page 39



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A successful space salvage
Man has been placing objects in space since 1957, but last week two shuttle astronauts reversed the procedure for the first time and retrieved two satellites.

—Page 60



Deciding Gulf Canada's fate
Gulf Canada Ltd. is one of the largest integrated oil companies in the country, with assets of \$2.3 billion. Now the energy giant's owners may decide to sell it.

—Page 59

A place in the sun

Peter Worthington is no way deserved the shabby treatment he received from those who displaced, in my opinion, a streak of petulance in giving him the pink slip ("Reviewers of respectability," *Press*, Oct. 22). As a cofounder of that most successful newspaper he warranted much more consideration than that. I shall always feel proud to have campaigned for this unique individual in both the 1982 and 1984 Broadway-Greenwood elections. He is a man of honor who is completely honest and sincere in his dealings with people—one who would never compromise the truth for a place in the sun. His integrity makes him a man among men, a natural leader.

—WALTER ANTHONY BLUNT
Toronto

Learning some lessons

With regard to Peter C. Newman's column "A recipe for national success," *Business Watch*, Oct. 23, many would question Andrew Sarlin's attribution of Ronald Reagan's "main economic successes" to "conservatism and world perceptions" that bring the U.S. air controllers but at least on much effect on national confidence. However, even a casual observer, particularly one from the west coast of the United States, must see that the real "engine" of the largest U.S. economy is the enormous aerospace buildup.

—A.C. MCKAY
Bismarck

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Worthington: a man of honor

Tin penny pinchers

Regarding "Alcan's quest to be big" (*Business Week*, Nov. 5), it would be like to apply the old-fashioned, snarling move made by Alcan Alumnium's president, David Colver—that is, of inspiring nests down while money is scarce. Colver has done the right thing, in the obvious belief of Alcan Alumnium in life's employees and, ultimately, the whole of Canada.

—ALUNY FRANKLIN,
Markham, Ont.

Stirring the Irish stew

It comes as a surprise when Kevin Doyle in his Oct. 22 editorial, "Thumping the U.S.," writes, "The IRA also appears to be a profoundly affecting way to the deeply held, but muted—emotions of the vast majority of Irish Catholics." Surely he means to say Irish Republicans, or as they were once known in Canada, *Pirans*, far outpace can have little to do with IRA slouches.

—A.E. COLLINS
Windsor, Ont.

Ireland's main problem is not the IRA, the Organized Irish Republican Army. It is the British gross mismanagement. It is the British gross mismanagement itself. She thinks that the people of Northern Ireland are proud to be British. Not so. They cling to the British welfare state, which provides free health benefits and unemployment money, which, unlike our own, goes on ad infinitum, at other people's expense. In spending down the road to financial ruin. Only Margaret Thatcher can end the troubles in Northern Ireland, unfortunately, she is so obsessed with her own Lady image that she is unable to be other than sturdily obstinate.

—J. P. BELL,
Victoria

PASSAGES

1983 Baby Face, of complications following the historic transpolar operation that replaced her own underdeveloped heart with the heart of a baboon (page 67)

OWNED: To historian James Hayes, 58, and Quebec playwright Marcel Dubé, 54, the 1984 \$50,000 Canada Council Mellon Prize, made annually in recognition of outstanding achievements and to encourage further contributions to the cultural and intellectual heritage of Canada. Hayes, a professor of government and political science at Dalhousie University, has published 12 books including five of his series *In Defence of Canada*. Dubé is best-known for his works *Un simple soldat* and *Le temps des lilas*.

ENGAGED: Singer actress Olivia Newton-John, 36, Grammy Award-winning recording artist and star of Hollywood films *Grease*, *Tom of a Kind* and *Kiss*, to actor Van Lathan, 35, who also performed in *Kiss*.

OWNED: France's prestigious literary Grand Prix to French author Marguerite Duras, 70, after a 40-year writing career during which she produced numerous novels, plays and the script, including the scenario for Alain Resnais' *Théorème*, *Mon Amour*.

DIED: Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., 34, retired pastor of the Atlanta Ebenezer Baptist Church and father of the late Martin Luther King Jr., of heart disease, in Atlanta. A black minister's son, King was a black-minister's son who led his first protest march in 1956 in Atlanta and lived to see one so assassinated, another drawn in a swimming pool and still, his wife, Alberta, killed in his own church by a gunman.

DIED: Stefan Sorokin, 55, controversial B.C. Doukhobor leader since 1960 credited with putting a stop to local unrest after suffering from heart disease for two years, in St. Luke's Memorial Hospital, Spokane, Wash. Ukraine-born Sorokin lived in Douglas for most of the past 33 years but faced a government inquiry after Doukhobor unrest based on his leadership in British Columbia last year.

DIED: Brewmaster and goodwill ambassador for Carlsberg beer in Canada Carl Holmen, 68, of cancer, in Copenhagen. A familiar face on Carlsberg TV commercials, Holmen received a master brewer's diploma in 1964 from the Royal Danish Brewing High School in Copenhagen and began working at the Carlsberg brewery in 1968.



Davies with Prime Minister Mulroney: a common success, but lingering doubts

Davies' legacy

In "The changing of the guard" (*Canada*, Oct. 22) you state that the educational system and Ontario Hydro's \$29-billion debt are lingering problems on the debit side of William Davies' career. You also allege that Ontario Hydro's debt was increased following the "problem-plagued" nuclear power stations. This is misleading, because for that debt Ontario has acquired a world-renowned public utility (whose replacement costs are probably double the debt). The utility produces competitively priced electricity which has attracted sufficient industry for Ontario to be classified as Canada's industrial heartland. And this industry is runned by graduates from the so-called "hardcore" educational system. As for the "problem-plagued" nuclear power stations, a performance record of the world's 317 nuclear power reactors placed four of Ontario Hydro's reactors in the top 30 of the world last year. Some problem, some plague.

—D.A. GORELY,
West Hill, Ont.

With the resignation of Bill Davis as premier of Ontario, the rest of Canada can draw a collective sigh of relief. As a former resident of Ontario, I became aware of two things. Davis has no time for the concerns of his constituents and he is totally incapable of seeing anything as far north as the 45th parallel. We are truly fortunate that this man decided against seeking the leadership of the federal Conservative party. We can only hope that he will not resurface at the federal level.

—B.S. HODGES,
Scarboro, Miss.

Plain speaking

Our newly appointed Speaker of the House of Commons, John Roper, should practice his English as well as his French ("A youthful new speaker for the House," *Canada*, Oct. 22). "Emergency" does not mean in its anticipatory sense; it means in its urgent sense. It might better describe his condition after his first session in the Speaker's chair.

—FAYE REYLA,
New Westminster, B.C.

A cold comfort

You seem to attribute the faltering drive of the diesel engine simply to the cost of machine ("Diesel's faltering drive," *Follow-up*, Oct. 15). There may be other reasons, but a major one is that the diesel "warm-up" period is longer, and "warm-ups"—particularly western Canadians—want a car that will not start well quickly on cold winter mornings. Sometimes our manufacturers in more important than better fuel mileage.

—D. LLOYD LARKIN,
Brandon, Man.

The appeal of diversity

I read the last page of *Maclean's* first essay week, however, by suggesting that all Gaiusians share Conservative Day Street feelings of superiority, Allan Petheringham strays from the witty road of satire onto the muddy one of stereotyping ("Tripping his is the realm of mass," *Canada*, Oct. 18). We are not all as fortunate as to have a job that takes us across Canada. But many of us do travel as tourists across our land. We see the beauty of Canada's diversity, without taking a strong stance like the

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"What is best?" one so often demonstrated by Petheringham. I wonder how shaky her hand is when he attempts the *Twain*-based Frost Page Challenge chalice—or, indeed, the one from *Madness*."

—DOUG HADEN
Mass Free, Ont.

Amiel vs. Badgley

Barbara Amiel's writing in *Madness* is the product of a perspective mind and a finely tuned sense of justice—a rare combination. This was particularly so in "An offensive sexual report" (October,

Oct. 29). To suggest that any act is or is not a crime solely on the criterion of chronological time is absurd in the extreme. Chronological age means very little. Some people are highly intelligent, sophisticated and mature at 16; some are naive all their lives.

—JAMES D. MOSE,
Brynar

I find it very distasteful that Barbara Amiel would manipulate a sensitive subject to conform with her biased hatred for the "feminist" movement. However, it doesn't surprise me, after read-

ing previous columns regarding the same, to incorporate the report on sexual offenses against children into her misdirected "feminist plot" scheme of things reflects in her solution an abhorrent inability to write multidimensionally. I can appreciate her attempts to write a controversial column, but why not stick to the subject matter at hand? Amiel's writing is so predictable.

—JULIAN CLOVICKI
Saskatoon

In her outstanding diatribe against golden feminists Barbara Amiel steps just short of endorsing "an onerous occasional funding has none" in the name of protecting the autonomy of the family. In her view, there's a feminist under every bed ready to embrace the ondes of this world for just doing what comes naturally. I am going to give a copy of Badgley's report and take it with all seriousness, mainly because Amiel is against it. On those grounds, it must have some worth.

—ROY STEWART LUTHER
Kewmont, B.C.

Although the two-volume Badgley Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children is not to be assessed as, it is also not to be employed whole and presently, it is a useful and useful. Barbara Amiel's vehement opposition to its methods and conclusions is of value in making me wary of doing so. As Amiel usefully expostulates, such reports are not to be taken seriously. I disagree with her that there is likely to be legislative support here quite here, but the report could conceivably lead in the hearing of the finger of guilt. I am sure the committee is honest and its report a fair assessment of important cases in the future. Deliberate cases will matter. May Amiel continue to try to keep us sensible until it does.

—T. BOB M.
New Luskard, Md.

Irresponsible journalism, such as Barbara Amiel's attack on the Badgley report is the exact type of thing that has helped to keep with abuse in the closet for the past 20 years. There are definitely problems with the definition of sexual abuse and with some of the recommendations of the Badgley report. The fact that the government at commissioned it at all in the case is that, and I, for one, would sooner have reports intelligent it rather than sensationalists. Whether a one-year-old is sexually abused by a priest or a psychotic mother does not alter the fact that the victim's entire sexual life can be altered by such abuse—Amiel's total misunderstanding and distortion of the report enrage me.

—DAVID PURVIS
Colony, Del.

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A short list of questions

"The last-minute rescue" (Publishing, Oct. 8) of McClelland and Stewart publishers leaves unanswered as well as even discussed the major issue at stake, the propriety of government-sponsored publishing. The article showed an amazing lack of analysis of this question at the time of its writing. What were the terms of the Ontario government loan? Did Jack McClelland simply promise never to ask again for provincial aid? The aid package totaling \$8.6 million, combined with \$4.1 million in private investment, will leave \$45.4 million short of covering its debt. How does the company plan to get on to a firm financial footing? What does Farley Mowat have for breakfast in the morning?

—DARYL ARMENAK
Bristol, England

More on Grenada

Your follow-up on Grenada was timely and comprehensive ("Grenada's time of trial," Follow-up, Oct. 15). However, there were some inaccuracies. Many more people than Just Maurice Bishop, these cabinet ministers and 19 others were murdered on Oct. 19 last year. It was more like 130, many of them schoolchildren. Bishop was killed at Port George, which was then Grenadian army headquarters, and then known as

Port Bapier. He was got under house arrest at the prime minister's residence. What may have caused confusion is that the residence is now used as headquarters by the Caribbean forces. And the tourist business did not collapse after the intervention. It was virtually dead before. Since the intervention, there has been a modest revival—cruise ships have come back, and there is a steady flow of the tourists, the stay makers, and the potential investors.

—DUSTIN WITTELE
Toronto

Erica Jong's offense

I wish Modan's would not allow any more space for Erica Jong's reckless, indecent verbiage ("Sex after the revolution," Q&A, Nov. 2). Jong is an offense to my sensitivity and a disgrace to my gender. She would be better off to confide the misadventures of her unhealthy psyche to the confidential couch of a psychiatrist. National would be better off if the Erica Jong of this world were ignored entirely.

—SUSAN HARTSHORN
Montreal

The need for limits

When I try to visualize the world the Jane Calwood and the Thelma McCrackens would wish upon us, I shudder ("Confronting pornography," Media,

Oct. 28). It would be a world where censorship would be banned in all its applications, a world where there were no guidelines as to what the majority thought was decent, a world where the most base would become the standard. The most ironic thing is that these same "free-thinkers" would jump on the bandwagon going in the opposite direction: wanting stricter censorship.

—CHARLES FRASER
King's County, N.S.

Most feminists are supportive of artists' objections to censorship of their work. We all stand to lose if no distinction is made between erotica and pornography. However, there is a massive industry operating on this continent which, with as real claim to artistic pretensions, has profited hugely from peddling and distributing images which do violence to women and, very often, children. It is the pornography industry, not artists, that feminists are after—surely that must be clear. Censorship is a valid issue, but as its violence against women, I would like to see some solidarity replace the resistance to many artists—and men—seem to feel as this issue.

—JANET KERR
Camrose, Alta.

Did Jane Calwood really say that "men do not push around women who make as

much money as they do"? This will come as a shock to rape crisis centres and trafficking houses for battered women. Since when did a rape victim ask his victim how much she earned before deciding to rape her? And what about those husbands who beat up their doctor, lawyer or corporate executive wives who earn as much as, or even more than, they do? Assuming that Calwood is correct, all we have to do to stop wife-battering and rape is the world is to pay each woman a higher wage than each man. In other words, Calwood's excuses for allowing wide-open pornography are just one more example of a civil libertarianism grasping at any straw in order to support the peculiar thesis that license is the same as freedom.

—MURDER ROCK
West Vancouver

The lessons of space

The Oct. 26 space article, "Garcia's new perspective on the world," was great. Canada needs to know more about available space programs and their benefits to science, the country and Canadians, and to become involved in them. One of my biggest fears for the future is that space will become the private frontier for two superpowers. The world must afford that luxury. As a Canadian living in the United States, I



Garcia involving Canadians in space

have watched the politicians for the space program suffer political ups and downs, but still the wonder and excitement is there when men and women explore the heavens. Hope that Canada will become a part of space exploration and benefit from it.

—BYRON D. SPANGLER
Jetha's airport, Ind.

Keeping up the inflation

Regarding "The Frustrated grain harvest" (Canada, Oct. 22) you refer to world wheat prices in the mid-1970s that gave to Canadian producers as much as \$12 a bushel. I have farmed for the past 38 years, and the most I have received after freight and handling charges were deducted was around \$5.50 a bushel. I wondered if you could tell Prairie producers where the other \$6.50 went.

—CLARENCE R. WILLIAMS
Borden, Sask.

Editor's note: The peak price for wheat in 1974 was \$6.97 per bushel. The \$12 figure was an attempt to express that value roughly in terms of today's deflated dollar.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Modan's magazine, Attention: Reader Edit, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.



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FOLLOW-UP

A return to old pastures

With little apparent sense of irony, President Ronald Reagan's interior secretary, the redoubtable anti-environmentalist James G. Watt, stood up in a cow pasture as a California ranch in October, 1983, and, without daring his hat, announced to reporters his resignation from the government. The media had labelled Watt the politician with "hoof-in-mouth disease." That was after an extraordinary series of blunders that made him the most controversial figure in the Reagan administration. At one time, Watt even declared that his advisory panel on coal-leasing practices included "a black, a woman, two Jews and a cripple."

Now, Watt is once again involved in environmental controversies—as chairman of Environmental Protection Inc., a two-year-old, California-based biotechnology company that is planning to sell its products to the U.S. government. The first item Watt is trying to sell? A lot that tests vegetation for contamination by parasites, a deadly herbicide that Watt once wanted to use to kill marijuana plants which drug dealers had secretly grown in federal forests. Watt, who emphasizes that the parasite kit is not particularly aimed at marijuana users, says that it was developed to prove the effectiveness of his company's biotechnology. But it is unlikely that there will be any mass market for the company's products, according to stock market analysts who specialize in biotechnology.

And that is where the biotechnology company expects Watt to play a major role. He still has many old friends on Capitol Hill. Real company president Arden A. Kaitera "Watt is the best thing that has happened to this company. We were fighting an uphill battle in funding and marketing until he came in. He has introduced the company to the department of agriculture, the food and drug administration and even the Pentagon," which is being offered lots to detect biological warfare toxins. According to the company prospectus, Watt is receiving \$50,000 company shares and a \$50,000-a-year salary.

It has not taken long for him to make his return to Washington, where a year ago a staple joke was that "only the cartoonists were sorry when Watt left town." Now that he is back, the cartoonists will be watching to see if he is a better lobbyist than he was a politician. —WILLIAM LOWMYER JR., Washington



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CLASSIC BOOKSHOPS

Q&A: NADINE GORDIMER

South Africa's agony

Nadine Gordimer is famous for writing fiction that perfectly illuminates what the nation of her native South Africa does to the people—black, white, Indian and colored—who live there. Her 27 novels and books of short stories examine the effects of what she calls "the color bar"—on everyone from the white big-



Gordimer diagnosed

and businessman at the center of the Government, which won her The Booker Prize in Britain in 1971, to young Rose Burger in her most famous novel *Burger's Daughter*, the daughter of a jailed white dissident who must decide how to live up to her heroism. The South African government has banned several of her books because of their realistic picture of life in that country. Gordimer, 61, whose home is in Johannesburg, was visiting Toronto, where she read from her most recent book of short stories, *Something Out There*, at the Harbourfront International Festival of Authors. Maclean's correspondent Doug Fisherling talked with her about political and social change in her country.

Maclean's: What does the awarding of this year's Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, mean to South Africa in hard political terms?

Gordimer: Something significant. Tutu's prize is a wonderfully reassuring thing for those of us working within the country for a peaceful change. The thing that always troubles many of us, people such as Tutu and myself, is the usual kind of support that comes from the West and particularly from the United States. It is support for the South African government. The United States sees itself as encouraging the government to bring about change, to bring about reforms, to start moving away from apartheid. So the South African government sends us receiving praise for so-called change.

Maclean's: The new constitution en-

acted in August created three houses of congress—a white chamber, an Indian chamber and a colored chamber. How has the sociopolitical mood in the country changed since that?

Gordimer: People campaigned against the constitution for a very good reason because it leaves out the 70 per cent of the people who are black. Then, in the election to appoint representatives to the new colored chamber, only 20 per cent of those eligible voted; none of the people who got in received fewer than 100 votes. Some of those have now become what one prominent black leader called "the junior partners of apartheid," in reference to those who are now fighting among themselves in a disgraceful exhibition, jockeying for cabinet posts so that they will get paid so much more and have bigger houses, bigger cars and other perks. And after all the grandiose promises they made, saying they were only going into the new transitional chambers in order to appease apartheid?

Maclean's: How many of your books have been banned in South Africa? **Gordimer:** Three of my books have been banned, but the government has unban two of them—

one after 10 years and the other after 12 years. The third was only banned for a few months. That sentence deeply reflects not a change of heart on the part of the censor, but the simple fact that, as I have become well-known in the outside world, so has it become embarrassing for them to prevent South Africans from reading my books.

Maclean's: How does censorship actually work in South Africa?

Gordimer: Anyone can submit a book to the censors—the Publications Control Board—along with a nominal fee of about a dollar. The censors then refer the book to a committee—in three people of the 200 they hand to a list. The censors are mostly retired people, but there are some civil servants, some teachers and, I believe, a very few lawyers.

Irish Mist goes after



After all, taste is everything.

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CLASSIC
BOOKSHOPS

and obscure academics. I do not think any journalists have been on the occasion. The names are supposed to be secret, but word does leak out. They read the book and write reports, and if two of the three consider that the book should be banned, then the book is declared banned. At the beginning of the whole process, notice is published in the government's official newspaper along with other proclamations and things. The book is then under embargo.

Maclean: Is there an appeal process?

Gordimer: The writer and the publisher have 14 days in which to lodge notice of appeal. Only they can do that. In 1984, when the censorship act first came in, these appeals were heard in open court. But so many decisions went against the banned that it made a farce of the thing. So some years later they picked an act through parliament whereby the censors have their own court. Even then, they sometimes lose.

Maclean: Do you appeal when one of your books is banned?

Gordimer: No. It has been my practice—and also that of other South African writers, black and white—to refuse to co-operate with the whole machinery of censorship. We do not recognize their right, so we are not going to ask them the favor of releasing our books. When they banned my book *Barbarian Days*, I did exercise my right to ask for the three writers' decisions, and they were staggering: staggering in their narrow-mindedness, staggering in their total ignorance of literature.

You could see that the censors had no idea of what goes on in literature in the contemporary world. It was too good an opportunity for me to miss and so I went to some Afrikaner friends who have a little publishing house and paid them to produce a booklet called *What Happened to Barbery's Daughter*. It is a private letter published with reviews from England and North America, as well as certain correspondence with the board.

Maclean: What happened?

Gordimer: People whose books were banned started to ask for the reasons. One literary magazine began to publish these reasons, and then a couple of books by well-known South African writers were unbanned. I think they

thought that was going to shut us up. But it did not. Lately there have been fewer banings, but that does not mean that we are being complacent. The banning machinery is still in place.

Maclean: Even with a black majority government, do you believe that one day South Africa will be democratic, given the absence of a democratic tradition on which to build?

Gordimer: There is no guarantee. But there is a great wish in the world for democracy in South Africa. The longer we put it off, though, the fewer people there will be the Demand Tuto, and so the less good the chances.

The fact is there has never been a democracy in South Africa. You cannot have a democracy when only the white minority—45 million people out of 24 million—has the vote.

Maclean: You are on record as calling yourself a reformer and not a liberal in the context of South Africa—where such terms are obviously not used precisely the same way they are used in Canada. Where do you fit into the political spectrum?

Gordimer: To be a liberal in South Africa is to accept that there must be a change but to foresee, along with the idea of one man one vote, the necessity of minority protection for whites. To me, that is a tremendous contradiction. You either believe in democracy or you do not. I think minority protection is a way of perpetuating racial differences, as happened with the Rhodesians in



Tutu, a great triumph

Rhodesia. I do not believe you can have a peaceful and just South Africa if you perpetuate the system of the so-called colonial states. [Her black] I do not believe in a federal system in South Africa. I stand for a united South Africa, one country. I do not think you can have it up in any way that will do justice to anybody. As far as man says, that goes without saying, of course. I also question whether one can continue with the economic system of Western capitalism and see sufficient social change or better something else has to be found. Of course, as soon as you say that in South Africa you get called a Communist. The concept of a social contract does not seem to exist in my country. But that is what I would call myself.



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Turning parody into profit

There was a serious side to last year's spoof of the men's soft porn magazine, *Playboy*. The slick parody magazine, published in New York, sold 1.6 million copies throughout the United States, Canada and Europe, earning publishers Edward Shain and Gerald Taylor a profit that, they admit,

ran "into the seven figures." Shain, 36, and Taylor, 46, became the U.S. publishing industry's kings of parody. The two men, who formerly published the *Harvard Lampoon* and later formed Taylor, Shain Inc. of Manhattan in 1981, attribute their success to their own version of a timeless adage: "If you can only

say something nice, do not say anything at all." Then, last month Taylor and Shain released what they say will be their biggest money-maker yet—a parody of the North American women's magazine *Cosmopolitan*. Said Taylor: "Canadian like it. It looks as though we may sell 100,000 copies up there alone."

Featuring a cover picture of comedienne Joan Rivers displaying more than her natural cleavage and blond hair, *Cosmoparody* offers advice to the hostess: "Show those unwanted brows." It also tells of "One woman's very special relationship with 700 men." And for women who come face to face with the threat of sexual assault, it offers dubious advice: "How to seduce your rapist." Make-up suggestions include the economy purchase of mascara-in-a-dress and, for the truly hopeless, the ultimate plastic surgery—a face transplant.

But parody is far from a laughing matter for Taylor and Shain. They have invested \$1.1 million and eight months in the production of *Cosmoparody*. Advertisers have paid as much as \$16,000 for a full-page, four-color ad in the magazine, which sells at Canadian newsstands for \$4.99. Before the two men branched out on their own, Shain and Taylor served as publishers for the *Harvard Lampoon's* successful parodies of *Newsweek* and *People* magazines. But Taylor sees a vast difference between their current work and the earlier ones. Said Taylor: "The college kids did the parody magazines on their summer vacation." But he claims that with *Playboy* and *Cosmoparody* he and Shain have raised parody publishing to a professional level.

Taylor claims that women's response to *Cosmoparody* has been "enthusiastic." Not so enthusiastic is a group of California sex-radicalist thugans. Offended by *Cosmoparody* cover lines, such as "Getting on top—and staying there," they are refusing to carry the magazine. But its creators say that they are unworried, claiming the boycott will affect only 100,000 of the 1.6 million copies in print.

The *Playboy* parody fostered a racy controversy which gave the *Blonde of Diana, Princess of Wales*, going in a one-through magazine. Still, Taylor and Shain are sensitive to charges of bad taste. But they concede that readers expect a "suspense of vitriol." With their formula for humor clearly a women, they give another parody—a take-off of *Presidents* magazine—to be released next April. Rod's Day. Yet, Shain and Taylor have not managed to solve one nagging problem—their parody productions have, they say, bewildered their in-laws and horrified their parents.

—BETH CHISTOFOROS in New York



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FOLLOW-UP

The sterling billionaires

Everything is bigger in Texas, then Nelson Bunker Hunt in Texas is intimate, from his portly appearance to his gusher of oil money. So when Bunker and his brother ventured into the silver futures market in the early 1970s, they brought big. And when they topped—in March '82, 1980—their third "win" was awarded around the world and especially on Wall Street, producing a nighttime of panic selling and, for the Hunts, \$3.7 billion in silver-fut debt. The brothers had to mortgage a vast array of assets to arrange a bailout. But even then they have demonstrated one of the most fundamental ways in which the rich are different from ordinary people: they can lose unfathomable sums of money and remain unaffectedly rich.

Just how rich the Hunts are is difficult to determine. They are highly secretive about their finances but, according to *Forbes* magazine, which recently published its annual list of the United States' new-wealthy, Bunker Hunt, 56, is worth \$1.4 billion, making him the fifth-richest person in the United States. His brother and fellow silver speculator, W. Herbert Hunt, 55, has a fortune of \$1 billion, making him 10th. Two of the Hunts' sisters also made the Top 50. All are keen of eccentric Texas oil magnate H.L. Hunt, who died a decade ago, leaving 14 children (by three women, in said order of wealth) and a legacy of deal-making that Dallas's *J.R. Ewing* would envy.

It was the second oldest son, Bunker—clever, earthy, with a penchant for far-right politics and Christian fundamentalism—who replaced his father as head of the clan, and it was Bunker who led his brother down the silver path. Believing that the metal was seriously underpriced, the Hunts began buying it in the early 1970s and picked up the pace in 1979, signing contracts for future deliveries at specified rates and inducing a group of oil-rich Arabs to do the same. Rumors flew that the Hunts were trying to corner the market, and prices shot up, to \$30 an ounce in January 1980, from \$6 an ounce in early 1979. But much of the investors' buying spree was done on credit, when prices began to drop, the Hunts could not come up with the money because they did not have enough liquid assets to cover the growing value of their contracts and broke huge losses—particularly Shear Group Inc. of New York, the Hunts' main silver

To eliminate the major flaws of cone-shaped speakers we created speakers without a cone. Technics Honeycomb Disc Speakers.

One of the unfortunate aspects of the conventional audio speaker is the speaker design itself: a cone-shaped diaphragm that performs with undesirable dips and peaks in frequency response. The result is a reproduction that can be less than accurate.

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broker—were threatened, setting off the panic U.S. financial officials rushed in to help quell the crisis. Then the euphoria set in.

Fortifying two months later before a congressional subcommittee investigating the crash of the silver market, the Harts insisted that the real villains were New York's Commodity Exchange and the Chicago Board of Trade, which, when prices soared, changed their rules to benefit traders who held contracts to deliver silver to the Harts. The brothers charged that many such traders were members of the exchange's boards, giving them a clear conflict of interest. Exchange officials denied any conflict, saying that they were only reacting

in March, 1982, they renegotiated the loan, at a lower interest rate. Both agreements required them to sell off their nearly \$50-million-on silver hoard in an orderly fashion, although they appear to still be holding it, intent on waiting until silver rises far above its current price of about \$7 an ounce.

Still, the Harts have liquidated millions of dollars in other assets from securities to cattle to the Shiley's Press chain. Whatever their financial troubles, they have continued to make substantial investments in everything from office buildings to oil and gas properties. In early October, for example, they won approval from Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's foreign investment-seeking



Richard (left) and Hank Hart: the toll caused a nightmare of panic as they

their right to self-regulation. The Commodity Futures Trading Commission has yet to complete its four-year-old investigation, but the Securities and Exchange Commission, after a two-year study, laid much of the blame on the brokerage houses for overextending credit to the Harts and for agreeing to tell the exchanges about the exposure.

The Harts are still paying for their part in the silver fiasco. Just a few days after the collapse, they agreed to cover \$400 million in losses by selling oil and gas properties in the Beaufort Sea in the Canadian Arctic, plus millions of ounces of silver, to Republic Minerals & Chemical Corp. In return, Republic let the Harts out of the silver futures contract that had required immediate payment at an inflated price. The Harts also secured a \$1.1-billion loan from a consortium of 13 Canadian and American banks, mortgaging Placid Oil Co.—the keystone of their empire—and other assets. Less than two years later,

government to acquire, for an undisclosed sum, majority interest in the Grassy Valley gas field in British Columbia.

The Harts' continued prosperity is a welcome development for the religious and political groups that continue to revere Hart as a Christian. The gospel according to Barker—a Southern-style Presbyterian—has led him to give millions of dollars to the Campus Crusade for Christ, a California-based evangelical movement. And when the Baptists gathered in Dallas for their leadership convention last August, Hart hosted a \$1,000-a-head backyard barbecue at his nearby Circle T ranch to benefit the National Conservative Political Action Committee. "Bunker Hart," declared comedian Bob Hope in the middle of the party, "has so much silver that he won't even die, he'll just tarnish." Indeed, the silver collapse tarnished the Harts, but they are certainly alive and well.

—BOB LEVINS



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FOLLOW-UP

A TV star in the wings

The move automated the city network. Carole Taylor, the glamorous host of the investigative current affairs program *W5* had decided to quit to be closer to her boyfriend, Art Phillips, then the mayor of Vancouver. Her announcement in April, 1976, drew a collective gasp of disbelief from colleagues at the Toronto headquarters who were puzzled that a tv star would sacrifice a national television career. One CTV executive scolded her saying, "Next thing you know, it will be barbecues and Calina red." But Taylor, 38, never became an alcoholic of charactered streaks, much less the local wine peddler. And now she may be on the verge of a major decision concerning her career. Said Taylor: "I have done a lot of soul-searching in the past six months. I feel that I am at a crossroads."

Since 1971, when she married Phillips—the pair has during a 1974 interview for *W5*—the couple has been enjoying a good deal of relaxation time, skiing and mountain-climbing, rarely missing a Seattle Seahawks' National Football League home game. Taylor and Phillips became the "go to" couple, "as one journalist dubbed them, living what seemed a charmed existence. After moving to Vancouver, Taylor did some local television work but she quit her job as the host of a New West public affairs TV show, *Pacific Report*, in 1975 to help Phillips campaign for a federal seat in Vancouver Centre as a Liberal. Phillips defeated Conservative Pat Carney but he lost the seat to her a year later, and she is now federal energy minister. Almost two years after Phillips' defeat at the polls Taylor gave birth to Savannah. She spent two years at home, and since then has been involved in local TV shows. She is currently the host of Vancouver *Left*, a weekly arts and entertainment program.

It was a beauty contest in 1962 that gave the Toronto-born Taylor a start in her career. She won \$1,000 as Miss Toronto, and her pageant win brought her to the attention of John Bassett Jr., the then host of *After Five*, who picked her for the Toronto Telegram's "After Five" youth supplement. At the time, Bassett's father owned the Telegram and CTV's flagship station, CTV. Bassett Jr. then picked Taylor as hostess of CTV's video version of *After Five*. At the time, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau noted about Taylor's stylish hair when he saw her on television: Said Trudeau, "I love it, I love it I love Africa, particularly as pretty women." So ea-



Taylor, a lot of soul-searching

thematic was Trudeau about Taylor that he once urged her to choose a riding and "we will put you in Parliament."

Taylor was admired for her brains as well as for her beauty. She obtained her English degree at the University of Toronto in 1967. While there, she met and married medical student, and U of T soccer football quarterback, Bryan Taylor. After she graduated she did a series of talk shows, which included *Women's World*, Toronto Today and, finally, *The Carole Taylor Show*. In 1972 she gave birth to Christopher (who now lives with her in Vancouver), but later that year she became a cohost of CTV's new morning show, *Canada A.M.*, along with former weatherman, Percy Selkman. Six months later she became the cohost of the acclaimed *W5*, making her one of the highest-profile women in Canadian television.

Taylor is acutely aware that her tv options are limited in British Columbia. She says that both she and Phillips would move back East for the right opportunity, though she admits that might be hard to find. Explained Taylor: "I do not feel like repeating jobs I have done in the past." Taking all of her tv experience into account, finding a job she has never done may be the hardest task Carole Taylor has yet to face.

—JANE O'HARA in Vancouver

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FOLLOW-UP

Manitoba's supreme test

It began as an innocuous incident. On May 28, 1985, Winnipeg police saw law student Roger Blaisseau speeding in his Ford sedan, down Lyndale Drive in Winnipeg's St. Boniface area, stopped him and routinely handed him a ticket. After noting that the ticket was printed in English only, Blaisseau, who now teaches law in New Brunswick, agreed to pay the \$35 fine, but then began a lengthy court challenge on the basis of a 1979 Supreme Court ruling that invalidated the 1980 Manitoba Official Language Act. His case has tapped at the fabric of the Manitoba government's legal authority. In the next two months the Supreme Court of Canada will rule whether all the English-only laws passed in the province over the past 94 years—the very legal foundation of the province—are valid. Declared constitutional law expert Dale Gibson: "It is utterly unprecedented. There has never been a constitutional ruling that threatened complete legal chaos for a portion of the country."

In May, 1985, the province's top government attorney failed to avert a potentially disruptive Supreme Court ruling by introducing a constitutional amendment to entrench bilingualism and suspend French language services in a province where only four per cent of the 1.05 million people are francophones. But the new strategy threw the province into a divisive emotional crisis. Opponents of entrenched bilingualism held mass demonstrations while an unopposable Tory opposition waged a bitter fight in the legislature. Key players on both sides of the debate, notably Premier Howard Pawley and the head of Manitoba Greenpeace, Grant Russell, who led the public opposition to the legislation, received death threats. At the same time, the controversial amendment became the subject of two disastrous resolutions in the House of Commons which called for the province to fulfil its constitutional obligations. When the Manitoba government failed to pass the amendment last February the issue returned to the Supreme Court. In April the federal government asked the Supreme Court to hear the Blaisseau case.

One legacy of Manitoba's linguistic war is the right-wing Confederation of Regions Western Party (CWRP). Formed last April, it ran second in three rural ridings in southwestern Manitoba in the Sept. 4 federal election and captured

"Talk about your off days!"

First, my flight was delayed, which meant I'd also miss my connection. And then, you guessed it, my luggage went further than I did. As if things weren't bad enough, my umbrella and briefcase conspired to make my day even more miserable while getting into the airport taxi.

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more than eight per cent of the popular vote Doug Edmondson, the first chairman of the party's Manitoba branch, credits can't popularity to its pro-Western platform, a review of compulsory motorization, increased regional representation in Ottawa, public referenda on all constitutional matters and one language for Western Canada—English. Doug Edmondson, a car dealer who speaks fluent French: "We do not want anything introduced in the constitution be it English, French or Chinese."

Throughout the slurry language dispute last year, national media reports depicted Manitobans with charges that bigotry and political hysteria had arisen in the province. But according to Greg Moore, director of Manitoba's Institute for Social and Economic Research, the language debate was much more complex. And Moore: "The issue was a lightning rod. It conducted all the frustrations felt under Western alienation—drawn Ottawa's long-standing neglect of the region to under-glass socialization arguments." Institute surveys showed that equal numbers of Anglo-Saxons and Manitobans of neither English nor French descent opposed the legislation because of its \$35-million cost and because of the sudden and arbitrary way the government introduced it. A poll which the institute released in September showed that half of the province's 650,000 voters remain firmly opposed to enforcement, while only 30 per cent support the securing of French rights. Those statistics also illustrate the West's traditional antipathy toward bilingualism.

Although the Supreme Court must rule on all of Manitoba's laws, Gidycz says it is unlikely to do so without granting the provincial government temporary powers to govern in order to avoid legal chaos. According to Gidycz, that would mean giving the province a five- or 10-year period in which to translate all of its laws. Kent Twaddle, the lawyer representing the Manitoba government, argued in a three-day hearing before the Supreme Court in June that the province's constitutional language guarantees are merely directory because any other findings would place the province in a kind of legal limbo. But lawyers representing the federal government stated that such guarantees—of both French and English as official languages of the provincial courts and legislatures—are mandatory.

Whatever the Supreme Court's decision, Premier Pawley is clearly counting on it to legal the divisive issue to rest. But a ruling unfavorable to Manitoba will make protests from both civil supporters and from Manitoban Conservatives. "I would speakman Bassett: "Of the ruling is unfavorable, the sleeping giant will awake."

—ANDREW KRIEGER in Winnipeg

COLUMN

The folly of policing language

By Barbara Amiel

It is late 1980 the black American comedian Bill Cosby had a routine in which he illustrated, with an amusing selection of "black words," how racial prejudice was so deeply ingrained in society that our very language reflected bigotry. Only word will tell him and, with a delivery that was almost brilliant, would reveal the racial parody of English by such phrases as "the dark side of things."

His routine sounded very convincing to English-speaking audiences unaccustomed to other languages. But those familiar with languages from countries where no amount with dark-skinned people ever took place—or where everyone was of dusky hue—pointed out that the derogatory connotations given to the word "black" were simply based on a value judgment about light and dark.

Currently, similar confusions exist about so-called accent languages in which words are held accountable for attitudes toward women—for instance, the war on the usage of such words as "man-kind" or on phrases such as "old wives' tales." Anyone with the most basic knowledge of comparative languages or anthropology knows that in some of the most patriarchal societies, such as Turkey and Hungary, the language happens to be gender-free, devoid even of such third-person pronouns as "he" or "she." Only people whose ignorance of human psychology includes their total ignorance of history and languages can think that there is a direct correlation between the words, grammatical forms and common expressions of a language and the value systems of the society in which it is used.

But the language cops—the loose coalition of feminists, left-wingers and human rights groups that is the newest branch of our thought police—are now gathering steam in Canada. These people have discovered all sorts of nonexistent connections between language and value systems which seem to reflect more their own pathological sensitivity than any expressed or implied prejudice. It is not smart to talk of old wives' tales nearly as much as it is person to believe that it is. It is not smart to use the word "blackmail" nearly as much as it is hypocritical to believe doing so is racist.

At one time these sorts of ideas could be comfortably dismissed as the ravings of the lunatic fringe of society. But the

language cops have moved with extraordinary speed. Boards of education and government ministries now have all sorts of style manuals that give employees lists of gender-free and racially insensitive concepts to substitute for their supposedly racist and sexist language. In his three-piece suit on Nov. 5, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney tipped his hat to the language cops and pronounced legislation to control sexually abusive programming. Since then it is not, nor has there been, any seriously abusive programming on our airwaves, that could only mean that the ideas of the militant language cops were being given official recognition. And, indeed, three days later the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission passed new regulations prohibiting discriminatory and "abusive" programming.

A few weeks ago Ontario Attorney General Ray McMurtry issued his government's style manual for use by any-

The image cops have engaged in a blatant attempt to enforce the twisted values of their zealotry on our society

one wanting to do advertising for the Ontario government. That same week, a reader sent me on a plain brown envelope a copy of the style manual of the Board of Bishops of the City of North York. It is a Methodist church's style manual is representative of the dozens of rules the language cops have promulgated based on education and government ministries is none.

The North York style book wants employees to avoid any religious material or gender in communication. Then, Mr. and Mrs. Smith are out. Nor should invitations be sent to Jane Smith and spouse. They should be sent to Jane Smith and guest. Phrases such as Man and His Word or mankind long ago got the boot. Some substitutes indicate a degree of illiteracy. "His-mad" is not accurately replaced by "synthetic" or "artificial." Personal pronouns and the North York board into a thry. Teachers are to avoid using expressions such as "Give your student his paper as soon as he is finished."

Over at the Ontario government, making TV commercials would be a nightmare if their guidelines on racially

inoffensive programming were to be followed. Grade-five Social: "The different racial origins from time to time in radio commercials." Never mind that if you use the wrong sort of accent, the human rights commission will put you for racism—as they did with the Wartime Internment of Charlie Chao commercials. I want to see a commercial with the marvelous language of "synthetic," "Waka" upon job and abortion to explain that it means "Oh. What's happening now?"

Guideline Six tells advertisers to "Show a multiracial group working or playing together in activities in which they can be shown consulting each other and respecting each other's abilities." One can imagine a commercial in which a Pakistani cashier totals a grocery bill and an Anglo-Canadian customer tells the cashier the cashier and manners. "I respect your ability to do that," or, even subtly, just slacks an appreciative tongue.

Guideline Eight warns advertisers to avoid " juxtaposing a shot of black skin on a seal with a shot of white skin working in a high-tech laboratory. It might be taken to imply the fault, were primitive people." It might, I suppose. But would it be realistic to have a show of whites trying to skin a seal and a group of blacks in a high-tech factory? I can hear the race relations people from the Ontario government viewing the footage. "Conscience Director, the white people don't seem to know how to skin the seal and the blacks are not working effectively in the high-tech lab."

It is all madness. The language and image cops are using the pretence of enforcing our sexist and racist language as a blatant attempt to enforce the twisted values of their extreme ideology on the living body of our society. Hopefully, we will all come to regard these people with the same scorn that Jacobson politicians got when they took the ideals of the French Revolution and pursued such idiotic goals as the "national 18-day week" in the name of reason and egalitarianism. Meanwhile, though we have no guidelines, the person who sent me the North York manual did it anonymously, fearful for his career advancement.

Once we were a proud and a free people. Now we are the word "Miss" under pain of loss of job. Have we learned nothing from history? We have. We have, having given us the abusive programming legislation, will now give us the denial of work.



Setting the economic agenda

By Michael Clagett

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called it a good start. Premier James Lee of Prince Edward Island spoke glowingly of a determination to "mobilize the full efforts of our government to achieve economic renewal." Outwardly, last week's meeting between Mulroney and Canada's 10 provincial premiers was marked by a sense of common purpose that contrasted sharply with the federal-provincial quarrelling of the past. But that was largely because the first primers postponed serious talks until they meet again in Regina on Feb. 14 and 15. Then, the real bargaining over the Mulroney government's declared mission of cutting back on funding for shared-cost social programs in the name of spending restraint will begin. Even so, the four-hour get-together near Ottawa reflected a marked change in style. In the past, said a western official, former prime minister Pierre Trudeau "did a lot of talking, took a lot of initiatives. This time Mulroney spent a lot of time listening and taking notes."

Even before the conference convened to set an agenda for the February economic discussions, the Prime Minister used all of his charm and political talent to smooth the way. He talked with several of the premiers in advance and arranged to have copies of Finance Minister Michael Wilson's Nov. 8 financial statement hand-delivered to each of them just as Wilson rose to speak in the Commons. At the government's rustic Wapiti Lake conference centre in the Gatineau Hills outside Ottawa, Mulroney, reported as close to one of the premiers, "totally disarmed" the veterans with a conciliatory approach to the task ahead. During the nine-day sessions the 11 first ministers sketched out an agenda for the Regina summit and then emerged proclaiming a new era in federal-provincial relations. Declared an apparently inebriated Peter Lougheed of Alberta, veteran of 15 years of first ministerial meetings: "You didn't have to be a Conservative in there to feel how good the mood was." Most of those present are Conservatives. The exceptions: Quebec's René Lévesque, of the Parti Québécois, and Manitoba's New Democrat Howard Pawley, along with William Bennett, the small-c conservative Social Credit premier of British Columbia.

BILL, the initially unstable state of the

new federal-provincial relationship is likely to exacerbate more strain when bargaining gets under way next year. Under existing arrangements, Ottawa passes along about \$15 billion from its tax revenues to the provinces each year to support health care, revenue and postsecondary education. It redistrib-



Pawley: cutbacks would wipe gap

utes another \$6 billion through the Fiscal Equalization Program to enable the six poorer provinces (the four Atlantic provinces, Quebec and Manitoba) to provide government services comparable to those of the richer provinces. Since taking office Mulroney has declared that

these payments will be reviewed and possibly reduced—a step that would seriously affect the have-not provinces.

According to Newfoundland Premier Brian Peckford, whose Conservative government will receive \$867 million in federal cash transfers in the 1984-1985 fiscal year, the subject did not even come up in last week's talks. Noel Penfold: "There is going to be a major national dialogue that will involve the provinces. I'm not going to take any particular position on it until such time as we have all the data." Sen. Manóbb's Pawley was blunt: "Any further cutback in transfer payments," he said, "will only widen the gap between the richer and the poorer provinces."

As the premiers talked, Wilson's plan to reduce projected expenditures in the next fiscal year by \$3.5 billion came under heavy attack in the Commons. The opposition Liberals and New Democrats charged that the spending reductions may eliminate as many as 100,000 jobs across the country. New Democrat Ian Dennis (Manitoba, New Brunswick), for one, simply referred to reports that the federal justice department had fired about 500 lawyers appointed under the previous Liberal governments, "leaving them with Toronto. Evans demanded to know why "ordinary Canadians, who will lose their jobs as a result of the government's measures, must wait to regain employment" in the private sector, while the government moves to provide jobs for its 600 re-layoff lawyers.

In their efforts to dissent, the negative impact of Wilson's plan, the Tories were caught in a series of awkward reversals. Treasury Board President Robert de Cotree assured the Commons that no jobs would be lost when \$71 million was cut from the National Research Council's 1985 budget next year. Then, only a few minutes later, Science Minister Thomas Soltes admitted that as many as 150 jobs could lose their jobs as a result of National Research Council spending reductions.

For his part, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, who less than two months earlier had told the United Nations that foreign aid would reach 91 per cent of Canada's gross national product in 1980, had to stick in 1986 as a target date when Wilson's measures reduced Canada's 1986 foreign aid budget by \$180 million. Clark explained that the delay resulted from "the severe econom-



Lévesque (left), Mulroney at first meeting conference a conciliatory approach that disarmed the premiers

ic situation which the government has inherited" from the Liberals. But critics noted that the government has been aware of the size of the federal deficit—projected to reach \$34.8 billion this year—since August, making it difficult to blame last-minute policy changes on the Liberal legacy.

On other policy fronts, the Mulroney government's work was marked by a series of actions and inactions that contributed to an image of an administration that is at times unsure of its direction—and obsessed with secrecy. Last week an unannounced source revealed to the press that Clark had issued a new order to his staff. The memorandum warned them to avoid talking to reporters, even at cocktail parties, without permission. The document was apparently circulated among

servants in this country.

Meanwhile, in an apparent policy shift, Revenue Minister Denis Beatty's office announced that Ottawa would spend \$10 million on a campaign to collect some of the \$3.5 billion owed to the Treasury by delinquent taxpayers. Last winter, while in opposition, Beatty headed a Conservative party task force that investigated and attacked Revenue Canada's hard-nosed methods of collecting from delinquent taxpayers. Noted NDP finance critic Nelson Rice: "It sounds as though Mr. Beatty is doing exactly what he criticized the Liberals for doing—imposing the heavy hand on those finding it impossible to pay."

At the same time, Commerce and Corporate Affairs Minister Michel Chéné was caught off guard when his parliamentary secretary, Peterborough, Mr. William Dennis, told reporters that the government was backing away from the program to rotate the country to national measurements. The government would no longer possessate retailers who ran afraid of national measurements, said Dennis. For his part, Chéné insisted that the cabinet had yet to decide the metric policy. He said Dennis had only been expressing "his personal opinions."

Meanwhile, the oppo-

sition Liberals were enmeshed in an embarrassing squabble featuring party leader Clark. Turner and the man he replaced, Ian Joly, Pierre Trudeau. Turner, discussing the party's situation before the Sept. 4 election, which he had called while briefly Prime Minister, said in an interview with Maclean's (Nov. 20) that he had disbanded a party that had been run from Trudeau's office, "without policy, without preparation, without money and without restraint." Trudeau lashed back on CTV's Canada A, by stating that "I think I could have won that election, if you want to know the truth." Added Trudeau: "If anybody wants an argument with me, if they want to promote me back into politics, that would be the way to do it."

But in another political arena where friction has been a reality—between Quebec and Ottawa—the trend was toward suppressing discord. Following the first ministers session, Quebec's Lévesque said he would meet separately with Mulroney next month to discuss conditions for his province belatedly joining the rest in signing Canada's 50-year-old Constitution. "The only commitment we made," said Lévesque, "in 1981 we would get together. Immediately, the Constitution will be discussed." And as an indication of his sincerity, Lévesque announced in Quebec City later in the week that he would consider allowing the Canadian flag to hang alongside Quebec's fleur-de-lis in the national assembly once again, after banishing it from the legislature for the past eight years.

Pacificist dialogue



A challenge to social principles

By Carol Gear

Debbie Hughes, a 33-year-old single parent who lives in Ottawa, is about to participate in a national economic debate. Although she admits to knowing little about government finances, she does know how it feels to support three children on welfare. And she thinks that Finance Minister Michael Wilson needs to hear from people like her as the Conservative government embarks on its review of the \$46 billion it spends annually on social benefits for Canadians. "I'm afraid," says Hughes. "If family allowances go, what's next? Medicare?"

Hughes, who works as a community liaison officer for the National Anti-Poverty Organization (NAPO), can be expected to make a small but compelling contribution to the national debate as Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's 10-week-old government embarks on the most fundamental review of the nation's social security system since the first old-age pensions were introduced in 1927. The process got under way when Wilson met over breakfast with a group of about 30 business, labor and social agency leaders less than 24 hours after presenting a Royal statement to Parliament that forebode sweeping changes in federal social services.

Wilson has asked cabinet ministers responsible for the network of federal social programs—ranging from children's benefits and unemployment insurance to maternity welfare and subsidized housing—to prepare outlines of possible spending cuts. After further reviews by parliamentary committees and special task forces, some of the proposals will find their way into Wilson's spring budget. But others will probably take years to implement. Said a senior financial department official: "Mr. Wilson has fired the starting gun. Some of the races will be 100-yard sprints, some will be marathons, and some will be 500-yard dashes with hurdles."

Perhaps the most pressing hurdle confronting Wilson is the equity, but popular, feature of universality that is inherent in key social programs. The policy extends benefits to citizens with-

out a means test proving need and is one of the legacies of a successive Liberal governments. All parents with children under age 18 living at home are automatically entitled now to a monthly cheque from Ottawa under the 1944 Family Allowances Act. And virtually every Canadian over 65 is eligible for monthly payments under Ottawa's 1952 Old Age Security program.



Hughes "examining the levels of a 'sacred trust'."

During last summer's election campaign Mulroney declared that he, like his Liberal predecessors, considered universality "a sacred trust." But once in office and determined to reduce the federal deficit, the Tories appeared to think again. That became evident after a poll conducted by *Globe and Mail* of 700 voters showed that 80 per cent of Canadians support the idea of universal or reducing social benefits for families with annual incomes of more

than \$40,000. Said Wilson: "Refusing change is no longer an option for Canada—and some of the changes necessary for an economic turnaround are strong candidates."

Wilson has promised that the measure will not be forced down the throats of Canadians. And finance department officials were busy last week contacting economic and social groups to invite their opinions. But as anxious groups began stating own positions, spokesmen for the poor and the aged complained that the disadvantaged could not hope to compete with the well-financed business lobby that argues against universality. "We have the feeling of being behind the eight-ball before we even get started," said Patrick Johnston, executive director of NAPO, a nonprofit agency representing 150 low-income groups across the country. Such fears are justified, according to Richard Van Loon, a University of Ottawa political scientist who is advising the two-year-old MacDonell commission on Canada's economic future. "The people who really need to be heard," said Van Loon, "are the ones who'll never be heard at all."

Wilson insists that the disadvantaged will get a fair hearing, even though there are no plans so far to hold public sessions. John Epp, minister of health and welfare, said he will be the advocate for the millions of voiceless beneficiaries of his department's programs. "I speak for those people," declared Epp. "That's an obligation and a responsibility I have." In the meantime, Epp has assigned his officials to evaluate the impact of various changes in universal welfare programs on the 5.6 million parents receiving family allowances and on 2.5 million beneficiaries of old-age security. Epp plans to make those figures public. In the end, however, it may be the universal champion of a woman like Debbie Hughes that teaches most Canadians. Recalling her eight years on welfare, which ended in April when she joined NAPO, Hughes said: "Thirty allowance cheques are different from the others. They just come—somebody asks you about your divorce or your kids or tells you that you'll be cut off if you live with a man."

The Liberal government of the late William Lloyd Mackenzie King was the

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Men Loos: fears that disadvantaged Canadians will never be heard at all

majority concerned with protecting the welfare of the children of low-income families when it introduced family allowances 37 years ago. But as the Second World War came to an end, and servicemen began returning from overseas, the newly introduced allowances began to serve another purpose. Canadian women who had worked in wartime jobs had become accustomed to having incomes of their own—and the family allowances cheque helped ease the transition as they returned to their roles as full-time wives and mothers. The "baby bonus" system has been altered several times since then, with the most significant changes coming in 1973, when payments became taxable, and in 1978, when child tax credits augmenting the allowance were introduced for low-income families. But as government has once again challenged the entitlement of every mother—or single father—to the basic monthly payment, it now stands at \$29.96 per child. This year the program will cost the government \$2.4 billion, of which about \$450 million will be taxed.

Family allowances have been the principal target for opponents of universality. The Royal Bank of Canada, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association have all called for a re-examination of universal family allowances. William Mahood, president of the Bank of Montreal, declared recently that he would be happy to see his family's entitlement—more than \$400 for those among the nine Mahood children who are under 18—go to "people who really need it."

But defectors of the universal baby bonus maintain that the existing system makes it easy to administer. They argue that any savings gained by making the

program selective would well be eaten up by increased operating costs. They also object that depriving middle- and upper-income Canadians of family allowances could invite a political backlash against the existence of such a program. "If a family in [Toronto's] Dan Mills doesn't benefit," said Mayor Patrick Johnston, "why should it support any interest in the payments?"

On the other hand, some economists

Cap: a claim to speak for the people



argue that it would make more cost-saving sense to adjust the income tax system than to tinker with baby bonuses. This year the government will give up almost \$800 million in revenues by allowing taxpayers to deduct \$710 from their pre-tax income per child. But exemptions like that benefit high-income families the most, while Canadians too poor to pay any tax get no relief at all.

For his part, Wilson has put forward a range of options that include phasing out the child tax exemption and eliminating or reducing family allowance payments for households over a certain income level. Another alternative is imposition of a higher tax rate on family allowance payments to upper-income households, to the point where the rich pay back 100 per cent of their benefit in taxes. As well, Wilson has raised the question of revamping child-support programs so that the family allowance and child tax exemption would be scaled down and some of the savings directed into Ottawa's five-year-old child tax credit program, a \$1.4-billion system of tax refunds for low and middle-income parents.

Wilson will ask Canadians to take an equally hard look at the old-age security system, which will cost the federal government \$8.2 billion this year. For 35 years the right of every Canadian to receive a government pension when he or she reaches retirement age has been unquestioned. That automatic entitlement now stands at \$775 per month. As well, elderly citizens who can prove their need are eligible for supplementary benefits of as much as \$500 per month (\$211 for married applicants). The combined cost of the two programs is \$11.1 billion. Because of the high costs and the fact that pensioners constitute a rapidly growing segment of the population, Ottawa is anxious to contain benefits for the elderly.

But now Wilson begins examining the system carefully, he may discover that there is little room to cut. Only 15 per cent of Canadians over 65 have incomes of more than \$30,000 a year, and the average single pensioner has a private income of only \$6,900. The dilemma facing Ottawa is that a decision to cut off old-age security payments to the more affluent 35 per cent would save only \$1.5 billion, while any move to reduce benefits for pensioners at the lower end of the income scale would almost certainly be politically unacceptable. "We're going to use more and more militant pensioners," said Van Loos. "You'd want to be very sure those people don't turn against you." That clearly is a political danger that the Mulroney government must strive to avoid as it embarks on its study of a system that millions of Canadians regard as a birthright. □



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Escalating a family feud

Since 1964, when silver-smith Richard Birks of Yorkshire was first listed in Britain's Court Rolls of the Catterline Company, the family name has been synonymous with silverware and jewels. The 78-year-old Henry Birks and Sons Ltd., founded by Montreal by a descendant of Richard Birks, has served such noteworthy clients as the late Princess Grace of Monaco and the King of Spain. Queen Elizabeth is once said of a diamond, emerald and platinum watch given to her by the company. "I have never received a more beautiful gift." But recently the company has been riven by bitter internal squabbles which split the Birks family into two factions and provoked a series of court battles to determine which group would control the venerable firm. Last week the rivalry escalated into speculation that the Quebec Provincial Police were considering laying fraud charges on behalf of Victor Birks and his son, Robert, against four other members of the family, including Drummmond, his 60-year-old nephew and the firm's president.

Indeed, two Montreal newspapers published inaccurate reports that the charges had already been lodged. But at week's end Claude Millette, the assistant Crown prosecutor in charge of the case, declared that he considered the accusations as "unfounded" on the basis of additional information he had received from Drummmond Birks's attorney, Morris Fish Millette's decision ended the criminal proceedings but the affair dominated the severity of the rift between Drummmond and his uncle, who is in his late 70s, and their respective families. Since 1968 Victor and Robert Birks have launched four separate civil suits involving Drummmond Birks and, in some instances, his three sons. Jonathan, president of Birks's Quebec operation, Barrie, head of the firm's U.S. division, and Thomas, the vice-president of marketing. The suits, two of which have already been dismissed, involve a number of issues, including ownership and selling rights in the company.

The roots of the rivalry feed go back to 1976 when Robert was dismissed as a company director and manager on the advice of professional consultants. Then, two years later, his father was ousted from his position as company president and member of the board of directors. This led to the series of civil suits that centered around the legitimacy of a 1980 stock repurchase agreement intended to ensure that control of the company—which is 70 per cent owned by Birks's family members—was in the hands of professional managers. After being fired from the company with only three days notice, Victor brought a series of civil suits to regain control of his voting shares in the company, arguing that he had signed the agreement to put his voting shares into the company trust without fully understanding the implications. After losing before the Quebec Court of Appeal, Victor was forced to give up his case when the Supreme Court of Canada refused to hear it last year.

In the meantime, Robert Birks, who had to pay \$125,000 to his ex-wife as a settlement following their divorce in 1977, is said to be in a "preliminary" financial position and living on an annual income of \$40,000.

Despite the family rivalries, the company continues to flourish. Last year's sales reached \$205 million, a company record, with 68 stores in the United States and 131 retail outlets operating in Canada. Industry insiders guess much of the credit for the company's success is due to Drummmond.

Clearly, Drummmond Birks's appearance at last week's events has escalated the tensions between the two sides. Drummmond said, "My clients have had their names plastered publicly across North America in connection with charges for which they are usually and completely blameless. It would not be surprising if they wanted to carefully consider what options may be available to them for recourse." It now appears that the long Birks tradition of keeping everything in the family—both business decisions and personal differences—is becoming irrevocably tarnished.

—ANTHONY WILKINSON
in Montreal



Drummmond Birks, Joseph



Nyaga Kathara: Ten years old. Faculty of five lives in one room but. Walls and floor of mud. Farm provides only food.

Nyaga's family lives on fifty cents a day



In the part of Africa where Nyaga lives, any income at all is considered a luxury. Her family is lucky—they earn \$144 a year. It costs \$174 to survive. Every year they must sell some of their livestock and some of their crop to make the difference. Every year they seek deeper into poverty. Education could make a difference—Nyaga likes to study at school—but education is an expense—school fees, uniforms and books are costly. And a child in school means one less pair of hands on the farm—one less labourer to scrounge for work.

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The high cost of Tory perks

In the chilly atmosphere of Ottawa's parliamentary restaurant, a floor-to-ceiling tapestry of the Conservative government's declared war on extravagant federal spending. Indeed, the food served to MPs, senators and press gallery members in the ornate north-floor dining lounge is itself heavily subsidised by taxpayers. A typical meal, including vegetables, salad, salmon with bearnaise sauce, French potatoes and coffee, costs \$426—less than half the price that a private Ottawa restaurant would charge.

But the days of dining elegantly may be numbered. Earlier this month Government House Leader Ray Johnston vowed to review the operations of the restaurant in order to reduce its annual \$5-million subsidy. Despite that gesture the new government seems as liberal as its predecessor in using the perquisites of power. Some examples.

• In one of six first actions in office, the government boosted—to \$15.1 million—the budget for cabinet ministers' staff. By contrast, the short-lived Liberal government of Prime Minister John Turner was expected to spend about \$7.8 million on ministerial staff.

• During their first 90 days in office, Tory ministers used the government's executive aircraft fleet for 54.74 flights. Total cost: \$346,000.

• Ottawa spent \$250,000 contracting out services for sides to the new cabinet. The services were organised by Rishik Management Consultants Ltd., whose president, Chester Rishik, was an aide to Justice Minister John Crossin when the Tories were in opposition.

• Contrary to a pledge which he made to a television interviewer last May, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has not yet paid his children's nanny on the government payroll. The cost: about \$17,000 a year. Both Mulroney and Liberal Leader John Turner have ordered renovations to their official residences, although neither has yet disclosed the cost. Since 1977 taxpayers have spent \$365,280 on renovations to the houses.

Mulroney loyalists are not alone in their refusal to comment on charges of unnecessary extravagance. Liberals, too, have been silent on the issue. Explained Turner spokesman Rick Maclean last week: "It's one thing for outsiders to complain about these kinds of things, but for us to do it would be hypocritical. After all, the taxpayers paid for Trudeau's mansion, too."

—ROSS LARSEN, with Terry Hargreaves in Ottawa.



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A prison protest



Thatcher: eating again

No sooner had former Saskatchewan cabinet minister Colin Thatcher begun his 18-month sentence for murdering his wife than he embarked on a hunger strike to protest against his confinement in a maximum-security wing of the Saskatoon Correctional Centre. Thatcher's refusal to eat solid foods ended after seven days when prison authorities refused to give in to his tactics for demand. A prison administrator says that because Thatcher is a "potential escape risk" who has the ability of manipulating people with co-operative and pleasant behavior.

In Moose Jaw last week more than 300 supporters launched a defense fund for Thatcher's appeal against his Nov. 8 conviction. Sask. food chairman Bernard Crossbarie "If the roles were reversed and one of us was in trouble, Colin would do the same for us."

Hatfield's headaches

The New Brunswick government is still trying to decide what to do about its chief accountant and a top officer of its liquor board, who pleaded guilty to income tax evasion in a case described by the Crown prosecutor as "one of the most extensive tax evasion conspiracies in the history of the province." Provincial Comptroller Glendon Graham was fined \$16,610 and Bruce R. Currie, administrator of the New Brunswick Liquor Licensing Board, was sentenced to pay \$14,810 but much for their part in a scheme between 1974 and 1978 involving Volvynsky Estains Ltd., a Fredericton real estate company, of which they were officers. According to prosecutor Paul Jamieson, Currie and two other company officials suppressed sales records, overbilled the company's expenses and claimed personal expenses on company books. The four men also acquired several properties from the company at costs substantially below market value. Altogether, the four stripped the firm of more than \$130,000 in goods and services over four years. Jamieson said Graham's conviction has sparked angry demands by the opposition Liberals for his dismissal from the \$60,000-a-year job. But Premier Richard Hatfield, embroiled in legal battles of his own involving a charge of marijuana possession, has been slow to act. Promoted Hatfield, "I'm handling the situation. I will give it the consideration it deserves."

A flood of accusations

Ever since the battered bodies of 10,000 natives washed up on the shores of Quebec's Capchaud River two months ago, officials of Hydro-Quebec have blamed heavy rains for swelling the river and causing the deaths. But last week evidence emerged that appeared to cast doubt on the provincially owned utility's account of events. A report by four opposition Liberal members of the national assembly—based on interviews of its men residing a charge of marijuana possession, has been slow to act. Promoted Hatfield, "I'm handling the situation. I will give it the consideration it deserves."

them, Hydro-Quebec isolated the spirit and the letter of the 1974 James Bay agreement between Quebec and the native peoples. Chénier also argued that the tragedy could have been avoided if the utility had not allowed waters to build to dangerously high levels in the Capchaud reservoir, 400 km upstream from the turbid crossing. Said Chénier: "It's apparent that Hydro just didn't want the public to see its computers." For his part, Premier René Lévesque refused all calls for a public inquiry into the incident. Said Lévesque Rivest, a researcher with Makivik Corp., which represents the James Bay Inuit in its dealings with the utility: "The only winners in this whole affair are the wolves and the bears, which will feast on caribou meat."

Jailing the messenger

It was an opportunity few enterprising journalists could pass up—the chance to slip into the Indian state of Punjab to interview survivors of last June's army assault on the Sikh holy temple in Amritsar after the Oct. 30 assassinations of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by Sikh bodyguards. But Jonathan Mann, 24, a freelance correspondent for the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. and the Toronto Globe and Mail, discovered the hard way last week that the New Delhi government does not view with favor Westerners who violate a travel ban to the predominantly Sikh state. Mann, a Montrealer who entered the Punjab by buying a train ticket under an Indian name, was arrested on Nov. 10 as he left the Golden Temple, one of the bloody shootouts between government troops and Sikh extremists dedicated to the creation of an independent Sikh state. Authorities also seized Mann's camera and tape recorder and accused him of "indulging in objectionable activities." In Ottawa, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark told reporters that he was reluctant to intervene in the case because the correspondent had broken Indian law. But Clark later apologized, noting that Mann had only been charged at the time of his arrest, not convicted. At week's end, Mann pleaded guilty before a magistrate and was fined \$80 expenses, about \$30. Said his mother, Adina Mann, in Montreal: "It's been a horrible week. It's one we'll like to write off the calendar and never have repeated in our lifetime."

Win one, lose one



Narvion exhausting

After a 7½-month-long pre-harvest hunting that exhausted the patience of his own lawyer, Montreal financier Robert Harrison was committed to trial last week on 13 charges of fraud, perjury, theft and conspiracy to commit fraud. Among other things, the former president of the Montreal Board of Trade is accused of defrauding the Bank of Montreal in a bid to settle a \$325,000 debt incurred by former Liberal cabinet minister Bryce Mackenzie. But the 41-year-old businessman also scored a legal victory when a Superior Court judge agreed to grant him bail. Harrison's first reason in four such applications: With his eleven net to be freed, lawyer Joseph Rivest asked the court to release him from the east, saying the unusual length of the preliminary hearing had been an "intolerable burden to me and my office."

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Be sure to fasten your safety belt. And incidentally, it might be a good idea to be sure it's fastened to a Volvo.

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TWO AFRICAN SOLITUDES

By Allister Sparks

Apartheid Johannesburg from the south, a tranquil corner opens a garden in the road that offers a choice of two worlds. To the right is the city, a fortress of high-rise buildings on a distant skyline. It is an American city of chrome and glass and elevated motorways set on the flat African veld between sand-encrusted mountains of yellow ochre dunes that bespeak the mild-based wealth. To the left, screened by a blanket of cold-weather pollution, stand low spots now of little, bottle-like houses stretching in a desolate urban sprawl as



Private residences in affluent white section of East Town, black shanties (opposite): a profound failure in racial comprehension

far as the eye can see. This is Soweto, ghetto home of the angry metropolitan's newly defined working class. In between lies a corridor that establishes social distance, a privileged corner's land strewn with the plastic bags, throwaway cans and other detritus of the consumer age.

The same division runs throughout South African society, separating not only access to the living areas but also citizenship rights, economic wealth, social amenities, trains, buses, taxis, schools and courtyards—and, above all, the people. Apartheid has created a no man's land across which people do not see one another or have any sense at all of what is in the other's heart and mind. While the rest of the world may often be shocked at what is done to blacks under the apartheid system, most white South Africans see no reason to justify it.

As a leading African historian and political scientist, Herutse Goniwe, has noted: "It is almost impossible for whites to recognize the political pain of others. They seem doomed to be perennially startled by the political responses

of the subjected." Breyten Botes, a brilliant Africanist poet who spent seven years in prison and now lives in Paris, adds that apartheid "has effectively managed to isolate the white man. He is becoming conditioned by his lack of contact with the people of the country, his lack of contact with the South African inside himself. His windows are painted white to keep the night in."

The lack of contact and failure of mutual comprehension is strikingly illustrated as the whites take what they regard as a laid-back, relaxed reform while the blacks react in a withering anger and a degraded sense of alienation. One year ago this month the whites voted by an unprecedented two-thirds

majority to endorse a new constitution that gave limited parliamentary representation to the colored and Indian minorities. Three months ago these communities rejected the reform—by an 87-per-cent boycott of their own elections—because it excluded the African majority. In the weeks after, the black townships have erupted with the worst outbreak of violence since the 1976 Soweto riots.

Rebuked: Yet even such palpable evidence of minority and black rejection of the new deal seems not to have penetrated the minds of the white community. It is as though whites are bewitched, even hypnotized, by the reaction to what they thought was a generous gesture. Some of the new colored and Indian parliamentarians was their seat with the support of less than three per cent of the eligible voters in their ridings, but white South Africa watched them being sworn in with solemn pagantry. With incredible speed the derogatory voting figures have been forgotten, and the government has taken on an aura of legitimacy.

As for the black ghettoes, they are mostly out of sight and

out of mind. Little of what happens there penetrates to the affluent gentility of white suburbs. Except when an occasional police vehicle driving through a white area or a black employee fails to turn up for work, the trouble might be in a foreign country.

The other day I went into the township of Sebokeng, 100 km south of Johannesburg, where the worst unrest has been. Four days earlier the army had surrounded the township at 2 a.m., and police had gone from house to house searching all the 160,000 inhabitants, looking for "revolutionary elements" that the white government is always convinced must be behind any manifestation of black discontent. Three hundred and fifty-eight people were arrested.

Shedding: The atmosphere resembled a town being emptied by an invading army after a battle. There were the shells of burnt-out buildings destroyed in the rioting. The Red Cross had set up food distribution points because all the shops had been destroyed. Armed troop carriers with red in battle dress cruised the streets, stopping occasionally to question little knots of people gathered on the pavement. The hostility of the locals was palpable.



In fact, the anger was directed mainly against members of the local black council who had entered the township under the apartheid system. Like the colored and Indian parliamentarians, they too were elected in elections that the overwhelming majority of townships boycotted. The whites deal with the councillors as though they are legitimate representatives. But the people of Sebokeng see them as hated collaborators, and the rioting provided them with a day of reckoning. Four of the councillors were killed, one lashed to death on his front doorstep and his body thrust into a car and set alight. The rest fled. All had their houses looted and burnt. To the whites of Johannesburg the troubles are as remote as they are to Canadians. The lack of perception is a state of mind. Life for the whites derives its essential character from the idea that they are not in Africa or, at least, not of Africa.

That perception has its legal expression in statutes that have penalized 88 per cent of the land area to be "white" South Africa. Other races may live there only in designated areas, under a law known as the Group Areas Act. The admission of Africans is strictly controlled to limit their

numbers to the minimum needed to run the economy. Yet, for all the efforts of the white community through 30 years of apartheid, the idea remains as ideological fiction. Although 30 per cent of all white South Africans live in metropolitan Johannesburg, they account for only one-third of the city's population of 5.6 million. Colored and Indian minorities account for another seven per cent. The rest are black Africans, and they keep the city running. As outsiders they account for 60 per cent of the purchasing power. Johannesburg could not survive one day without them.

Much of white South Africa's energy is devoted to trying to obscure that reality. According to law, no black person may own a business in a white city, not even a shoeshine stand. Yet a whole population of small-town entrepreneurs exists in "white" Johannesburg as a kind of visible under-world that goes officially unrecognized. Unlicensed drinking establishments, known as shebeens, thrive in alleyways and in vacant lots. Lottery operations ply their trade on the sidewalks. clandestine building contractors, plasterers and painters help genteel old houses in white suburbs.

On Sundays the separate existence of the two populations

of the same city is most apparent. There are some 120,000 black domestic servants living in rooms in the back of white suburban homes and on top of apartment blocks. On Sunday this other city within a city has the day off, but nowhere is it so. There are no public facilities in the suburbs for blacks. They gather on sidewalks, building sites, parking lots and in the smart shopping centres that are closed on Sundays. They wait at bus stops, these thousands known only as *June* or *Betty*, to meet grannies who bring in their children from the black "homelands" as a day's visit.

Parades: The whites, meanwhile, are gathered around swimming pools and tennis courts in quiet suburban gardens, sipping chilled white wine in the summer sun. Soweto and Sebokeng might be a million miles away.

The visual paradox highlights the very essence of South Africa's separate politics. Never does Johannesburg look more black than on Sundays, with the thousands of servants on the streets. Yet never do the whites feel more securely alone and at ease than on that day when they gather with their friends behind their high garden walls.

Allister Sparks is the former editor of the *London Daily Mail*.



COVER

South Africa's transition

By Robert Miller

Naturally wealthy, strategically located and achingly beautiful, sun-splashed South Africa might have been the envy of the world. It was not its brutal, self-defeating and, inevitably, self-defeating racist policies have made it instead one of the least-loved of nations, a powder keg at the foot of a towering and troubled continent. South Africa's oppressive apartheid system of apartheid, under which 46 million whites control the lives of 28 million blacks plus 3.7 million Asians and persons of mixed blood, is almost universally despised. Its critics, both within and without the country, have long predicted that the oppressed majority would ultimately prevail—perhaps after a bloody revolution, perhaps after a change of attitude on the part of the oppressors. But the day of deliverance for South Africa's blacks seems as distant now as it has at any time since apartheid was introduced in 1948, despite the stirrings of reform by the financially pressed National government of President P. W. Botha. Still, and despite escalating violent protest this fall among members

of the black population. Last week the regime's well-equipped and ruthlessly efficient security forces continued an autumn-long crackdown on dissidents within such wretched and smoldering black townships as Soweto, 100 km south of Johannesburg, where police arrested no fewer than 3,200 people in a single raid on Friday. Since February more than 200 people—all but one of them black—have died violently in intermittent rioting across the country. During the past three months, in the worst violence since the 1976 uprising in Soweto township, during which an estimated 400 died, uncounted shanties and modest black businesses have been put to the torch—most frequently by blacks themselves. And two weeks ago an estimated half-million black trade union members stayed off work for a day in an illegal protest against the policies of the Botha government.

Uphavas: Still, the security forces remained in full control, and the country's prosperous white population seemed almost oblivious to the upheaval in the segregated black townships, in part because the South African news media provided only limited coverage of the rioting and the crackdown

A widely rumored plot by black revolutionaries to seize last Thursday "kill-the-white day" sent tremors through affluent sections of Johannesburg, the country's industrial center (population 2.8 million) but the day passed without serious incident. Also last week, police began rounding up white critics of the regime for the first time since the most recent crisis erupted in September—when a new constitution giving limited political rights to the so-called "colored" (mostly and Asian population came into effect. Among the 10 who were detained 30-year-old Kate Philip, president of the National Union of South African Students, along with several members of the still-legal United Democratic Front (UDF), a coalition of anti-apartheid groups.

The government crackdown was denounced by the influential South African Council of Churches, headed by 1984 Nobel Peace Prize laureate Desmond Tutu, who was elected last week as Anglican bishop of Johannesburg. Said the council: "Apartheid is morally evil. Democratic apartheid and the awful notion that we are experimenting now will become part of our history that we will be glad to forget."

For their part, Botha and his Afri-



Recent rioting in black township of Sharpeville: South African army handling session: well-equipped, ruthlessly efficient

kazee-dominated National Party have been struggling to maintain white supremacy while giving the appearance of adhering to rigidity. Having declared in 1979 that South Africa "must adjust, otherwise we will die," Botha has lifted restrictions that prevented blacks from doing skilled jobs and joining labor unions. He has modified laws barring blacks from achieving a degree of permanency in the country's white-dominated urban areas, where they may now hold 99-year leases on their homes. He has allowed the topping of once-impenetrable racial barriers in hotels, restaurants and other public places designated as "international"—a concession that flowed from South Africa's urgent need to avoid offending visiting non-white businessmen, most notably those from Japan. But Botha's reforms have stopped well short of lifting one of the most galling forms of repression: the nation's notorious pass laws, which rigidly control the movements of nonwhites who were born and raised in South Africa.

Defiance: Under Botha, the authorities are increasingly turning a blind eye toward racially mixed couples who live together in edges defying the laws prohibiting miscegenation. And in promoting the

country's new constitution as Sept. 14, the government has broadened the consensus political color bar by giving Asian and mixed-race South Africans the vote for the first time since 1964. The constitutional change triggered outrage among some hard-line Afrikaners, who saw it as the beginning of the end of more than 200 years of white domination. It generated massive indifference among the newly enfranchised Asian and colored people, 87 per cent of whom did not bother to vote for their candidates who sought seats in the national parliament. And it sparked rioting by the blacks, who insist that anything less than universal suffrage—"one man, one vote"—is unacceptable.

The Botha pressure



have the appearance of change, while everything remains the same.

At the same time, the Botha government has continued to pursue its long-established foreign policy of keeping South Africa's black-ruled neighbors—including Lesotho, Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Swaziland—either weak or subservient. Pretoria has also kept up intensive military pressure against Angola-based guerrillas—mostly supporters of the African National Congress (ANC), founded in 1912 and

banned in 1960 after the Sharpeville massacre, in which police opened fire and killed 67 blacks who were protesting the country's pass laws. And it stubbornly refuses to permit the rise of an independent Namibia, formerly the protectorate of South West Africa (page 37).

Heaving: Within southern Africa the government's tough "machopolitik" has proved effective. After a series of South African military raids against ANC guerrillas operating out of Mozambique, South African Foreign Minister Rieckh Roelofse forced President Samora Machel to sign a "good neighborliness" and mutual nonaggression treaty last March 16. Under its terms, Machel agreed to expel 800 ANC members. Shortly afterward, Pretoria announced that a similar agreement with Swaziland had been secretly in effect for two years. Opponents of apartheid were astutely distressed. Said Alan Boesak, a colored church leader who is a senior member of the United Democratic Front in South Africa: "It means the struggle of their frontline states will not be as strong as it was. The first thing [black] South Africans will have to do is forget that others will liberate them."

Traditionally, South African foreign policy has been isolationist and defensive, an extension of the so-called "baas mentality" of the Afrikaner Voortrekkers (pioneers) who opened up the interior in the mid-18th century. Who threatened with attack, the Voortrekkers would circle their wagons around their families and livestock and

grundy fight off Zulu warriors from inside their "tanger." But with the rise of black nationalism in southern Africa, the triumph of the Portuguese empire in Mozambique (1974) and Angola (1975), as well as the fall of Ian Smith's white-supremacist Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in 1980, Pretoria gradually revised its thinking and began intervening in its neighbors' affairs.

Because of its location, bordered by the Indian and Atlantic oceans and straddling the busy trade route around the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa has long been strategically important. The British built the huge Simonstown Naval Base near Cape Town early this century to command the southern ocean, and with the recent growth of Soviet naval power, Pretoria continually stresses that a friendly South Africa is crucial to Western interests. Both maintain a staunch anti-Communist line, frequently attributing domestic dissent among blacks to the activities of provocateurs working for the interests of the Soviet Union. And the United States, alarmed by the presence of roughly 36,000 Cuban troops in Communist-controlled Angola, has found itself supporting Pretoria's policy on Namibia by demanding that the Cubans withdraw.

Struggles: But the Pretoria government remains largely without influence outside the world community. In 1980 it was banned out of the Commonwealth of Nations, many non-African nations, including Canada, maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa, and after President Ronald Reagan's U.S. government has tended down its once-vigorous complaints about the inequities of apartheid. Instead, Washington has concentrated itself to what it calls "constructive engagement" with the Biko regime. Within the rest of Africa, where 500 million people, many of them undernourished and undereducated, are divided into 51 nation states, South Africa is a superpower, seemingly invincible. But because of apartheid, it is also anathema to recently independent and still struggling nations.

But Biko's domestic reforms—modest as they are—represent the second modifi-

cation of the apartheid system since it was imposed by former prime minister Daniel Malan, who led the National Party to power for the first time in 1948, ending five Jan Christian Smuts of the South Africa Party. In the 1960s, another National Party leader, former prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd, who was eventually assassinated in the Cape Town House of Assembly in 1966, conserved the continuing and environmental policy of creating so-called "homelands" for the various tribes of South African blacks. The plan was to allow "separate development" for blacks, whose homelands ultimately would be

tribal lands are poor, already overcrowded and desperately short of jobs. As a result, the townships have continued to expand, if not prosper, as blacks stream in from the South African countryside, as well as neighboring nations, in search of jobs and a perchance.

Shooting: Even though the homelands concept was presented as a realization of apartheid, the objective of guaranteeing white rule supremacy throughout most of the country was all too clear. Indeed, when leading South African businessmen endorsed that Verwoerd's original plan was stating

primarily to equip its own troops. Most of its white population—3.8 million speak Afrikaans, 1.8 million use English as a first language—live a comfortable and prosperous life in such modern urban centers as Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban. But apartheid is expensive and the government is beginning to feel acute economic pressure as a consequence of deepening recession, a crippling drought and skyrocketing oil prices. Last August the government, faced with an unprecedented \$3-billion deficit, was forced to introduce what it called short-term austerity measures, including an increase of

Steve Biko, 31, died—beaten and maimed—in police custody in 1977 in the past 22 years a total of 54 people have died in similar circumstances. The security network mounts a vast range of opposition voices—and they are generous. Among them are such visible, visible and internationally known critics as Bishop Tete, the TD's Bosak, novelist Nadine Gordimer and playwright Athol Fugard. In addition, the black government is opposed by the Conservative Party, a new right-wing offshoot of the ruling National Party, which believes the regime is not firm enough in safeguarding white sa-

whese members were surprised when he embarked on it. A career politician who has worked for or represented the National Party since his youth, Botha had long been regarded as a hard-line. A tough defense minister under Verwoerd, Botha's style is that of a determined bulldozer. He is intolerant of opponents and is not used for his tact. His policies may have won him grudging admiration from some liberal politicians, but his personality has not. Said Elton Rossman, the veteran liberal who has not opposed Botha in parliament for 35 years: "He may love children and little dogs for all I know, but I have only



Tuts and sets, ANC marching afterwards in Pretoria, Oppenheimer facing a gun of hostility



green political independence. So far, fear of the 10 tribal areas—Ciskei, Transkei, Bophuthatane and Venda—have agreed to accept Pretoria's offer of sovereignty. It is an ambiguous status great South Africa's overall dominance and financial backing, and aside from Pretoria to other governments has recognized them.

Verwoerd's plan had two glaring flaws. First, only 13 per cent of the country was set aside for the blacks, who constituted 80 per cent of the population. And 47 per cent of the land that the whites controlled contained all the industrial sector, which grew increasingly dependent on black labor. Verwoerd assumed, mistakenly, that the crowded and currently explosive black townships, such as Soweto and Johannesburg, would either as blacks trekked it back to their tribal homelands. But the

country's economic development by deflating the emergence of a skilled black labor pool. Verwoerd replied, "If South Africa must choose between being poor and white or rich and multiracial, then it will choose to be white." South Africa is far from poor. It has vast gold deposits, sizable diamond mines and rich agricultural land, particularly in Cape Province. Spurred by trading boycotts, which have had only limited success, its businesses—including mining tycoon Harry F. Oppenheimer, one of the world's richest men—have developed a sophisticated industrial infrastructure. South Africa now manufactures most of its internal requirements. It has developed an expensive but secure source of petroleum, which it lacks, by converting it from coal, which it has in abundance. And it has built a world-class arms industry,

three per cent in most interest rates.

Adding to the government's financial burden is the \$2-billion-a-year cost of running the country's 36,000-strong defense force and of maintaining the elaborate police and security establishment required to enforce the laws, many of which are draconian. Under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act, anyone may be arrested and held indefinitely in solitary confinement without trial or access to family or lawyers. This year, roughly 1,000 South Africans were detained under the act.

Grave: The maximum-security institutions of Robben Island, an Alcatraz-like prison off Cape Town, where ANC leader and black hero Nelson Mandela has been held for 30 years, in many of ways given billions where the security forces are in total and unwavering control. Allegations of police brutality are commonplace, and other well-founded. The popular black nationalist

movement. The Conservatives, led by Andries Treurnicht of Transvaal Province, split from Botha in 1982 after he introduced his first, mild reforms. Even though the whole population varied in favor of the new constitution in a November, 1983, referendum. Treurnicht and his followers forecast disaster. Like many Africans, who fear that their wealth and traditions will be destroyed under black rule, and who cite the Bible as justification for their white-supremacist views, the Conservatives viewed the recent outbreak of violence in the black townships as the inevitable consequence of making concessions. Said prominent Conservative Party member Ferde Harzenberg: "We predicted that the new constitution would cause trouble, and now look what's happening!"

Botha's approach has sharply divided Africans, including the secret Swiderdorp (Brethren) society, many of

regionalized him as an aggressive, hostile politician. Aggression and hostility seem to be permanent features of life under apartheid—which may explain why many South Africans emigrate and many others hold British, as well as South African, passports. Because of the vast racial imbalance in the population, it is at least apparent that apartheid cannot endure. Less certain, as conflict Alan Paton wrote in his drama *Cry the Beloved Country*, is whether total reconciliation between black and white will ever be possible. Still, many South Africans contend that change will eventually occur. And whether it comes through reform or revolution will determine whether sweetest Paton's "beloved country" will cry streams of tears—or shed rivers of blood.

John Wilson teaches in Washington, D.C. McGee and Ann Wolcott in Toronto.

Canada's ambivalent relationship

By Mary Janigan

It began as a simple improvement on a quiet Ontario campus and it ended in a moral war. With the recent back-to-back television news specials at Peterborough, Trent University asked the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce to install an Instant Teller in the foyer of the campus library. The CIBC readily agreed and a formal contract was signed last July. Then the politics of South Africa erupted overseas. Protesting the bank's refusal to proclaim that it will make no more loans to South Africa, Trent's student union rebelled—passing resolutions, staging demonstrations and exchanging vehement letters. Last week the university insisted that the machine will be installed before Christmas. But in a simultaneous move, student leaders last week vowed to mount a boycott night in front of it, complete with films, speakers and literature about racial repression inside South Africa.

Prescient? That campus confrontation is a capsule version of Canada's awkward relationship with the Republic of South Africa. Links between the two nations are neither all too deep. Trade and investment are modest compared to Canada's other economic partnerships around the world. And Ottawa's diplomatic discourse with Pretoria is stiffly correct and occasionally frosty. Still, a handful of powerful and prescient Canadian companies do business in and with South Africa. And those connections create an ethical dilemma that may be unresolvable.

The essential debate is between those analysts who contend that Canada should break all relations with South Africa and others who take the position that severing ties is a defeatist approach. Corporations argue that boycotts ultimately hurt South Africa's 18 million blacks as much as its 4.6 million whites. But opponents of apartheid, notably church and civil rights groups, contend that repression of blacks has increased during the decades of Canadian involvement. The struggle between those groups creates a chronic ambivalence in Canadian-South African relations. Blacks top policy one way, the profits the other. The CIBC, for example, has made no new loans or loan renewals to Pretoria since 1976, and its management denounces apartheid. "But we cannot break the principle of confidentiality," argued Everett McCormick, the bank's public relations manager

"Would you have confidence if a bank indicated that—given the right circumstances—it might talk about your loan?" countered Thomas Harg, Trent's student union international coordinator. "Our ultimate goal is humanitarian—we simply care about the rights of others."

The conflict between idealism and



Trent University's Harg: Apartheid is economic

prescientness dates from Canada's earliest contacts. Ottawa sent a 7,500-man contingent to help the British conquer the Dutch-descended Afrikaners, or Boers, at the beginning of the century. As a result, South Africa and Canada became fellow members of the British Empire, later the Commonwealth. During the 1960s Canada resisted that South Africa's racial policies, although poorly; wrong, were the country's own interests affected. But by 1981, with new and racial African and Asian nations ex-

ertising international pressure, John Diefenbaker, then Canadian Prime Minister, successfully argued that the Commonwealth should adopt racial equality as a principle.

Reprising. The South Africans were prepared for the consequences. In 1960 white South Africa had voted in a referendum to become a republic. And on March 15, 1961 it formally withdrew from the Commonwealth. In the same year Canada supported a United Nations resolution deploring racial apartheid, but it opposed a call for economic and diplomatic sanctions. Since then, the line between the two has remained largely intact—a line defended in a 1984 government policy statement on the basis that it leaves no doubt Canada's opposition to and abhorrence of apartheid but also leaves the way open for contacts and dialogue which increase Canada's capacity to encourage the process of change.

While balancing on its policy line, Canada supported a US-sponsored voluntary arms embargo in 1963, renewed it 30 years later and, in 1977, made it mandatory. Immediately, under pressure from nearby neighbors, Ottawa has also toughened its stance on athletic contacts. In 1973 Ottawa withdrew funds for exchanges of Canadian and South African sportsmen, although that sort of the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal. In 1978 Ottawa extended the sanction to participation by Canadian athletes in sporting events anywhere involving South Africa—an action that helped to ensure Canada's boycott of the Commonwealth Games that year in Edmonton.

Commercially, Canada withdrew its trade commissioner from South Africa in 1977. At the same time, Ottawa suspended all Export Development Cor-

poration for South African government purchases of Canadian goods. In 1980 Canada terminated a preferential tariff agreement and in 1982 cut off its trade mission to provide South African exporters. But credit insurance for Canadian exporters to South Africa is still available.

Apprehensive. In truth, Canada's trade with South Africa is small but significant. It amounted to \$165 million in 1983 export sales, including sulphur and wood pulp, and \$194 million in imports, including sugar, manganese and tungsten. As well, sales of the South African gold Kruggerand coin are promoted aggressively in Canada. South African wines and spirits are marketed by Canadian provincial governments through their liquor stores. The giant Robtson's-Clerk O'Keefe group is heavily

share-holders, they encounter a growing and bewildering corporate maze in which the subsidiary is run by the Middle East and Africa division of Ford's parent company in Detroit.

Manufactured. Alvin Altmann Ltd. claims a 38-per-cent interest in a South African Company, Hallett Altmann Ltd. In its 1983-84 annual report, the Taskforce on the Chemicals and Corporate Responsibility—a multidimensional watchdog—and that "Hallett products are bound to be supplied for military purposes." Perkins, a British subsidiary of Canada's Massey-Ferguson Ltd., has agreed to transfer diesel engine technology to a company owned by the South African government. And Canada West and Cable International Ltd.—a subsidiary of Noranda Mines Ltd.—owns 35 per cent of South African

James to supply 11 large-scale computer systems to the Iron and Steel Corp. of South Africa, an important military supplier. Said the report: "The government and Canadian companies are involved in business as usual with South Africa, while developing a set of elaborate justifications which are meant to show that these transactions are still compatible with an observance of the apartheid system."

Realistic. Canadian labor unions—like the government—walk a narrow line, demanding \$130,000 into South Africa, opposing local aid projects and privately pressuring Canadian corporations with employees in the country to improve working standards. "Churches should talk about moral issues while trade unions give a better deal," they have to negotiate to get a better deal,



Results First co-ordinator of task force on corporate responsibility: External Affairs Minister Jim Clark: a fine diplomatic line

involved in Canada's brewing, tobacco and wine industries. South African investment in Canada, valued at about \$136 million in 1981, is led by the giant Anglo-American Corp., with interests in 50 companies operating in Canada. Among its holdings: Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting, Canadian Herald Ltd. and Provenex Oil & Gas Ltd.

But the greatest controversies swirl around Canadian firms that operate directly in South Africa. Statistic Canada documents show that 29 Canadian enterprises own 38 subsidiaries in South Africa, with a 1981 book value of \$467 million. On paper, the largest investor is Ford Canada of Oshawa, Ont., which owns the Ford Motor Co. of South Africa and supplies vehicles to South Africa's armed forces. But when Canadian critics attempt to confront Ford

with its Transglobe Cable. The firm makes magnet wire which it sells to other manufacturers—business in which may have military or police connections," said the task force. Massey Canadian Farm, it asserted, owns minority interests in South African companies and "Canadian investment there becomes a silent partner."

Absentminded. The task force has pre-occupied itself with the South African issue since its formation in 1979. In its 1983 annual report it observed that its harsh lobbying tactics are paying off and "Canadian banks have grown reluctant to lend to the South African government." But the report also acknowledged a growing list of Canadian investments. And it criticized Ottawa for granting an export permit to Central Data Ltd. of Mississauga, Ont., last

year Paul Poirer, international affairs officer of the Canadian Labor Congress "helps to lure these selling and servicing. It creates a better climate for as to negotiate in Trade unions are more realistic, but thank God that the churches are there."

Parit compares the tenuous middle ground in a debate in which all groups claim that their approach will improve the lives of black South Africans. To the churches, Canadian money is helping to improve policies of racial segregation. To business and government, investment opens doors and indirectly raises living standards for white and black alike. It is an argument that will continue to rage as long as blacks have no vote and no power—and as long as there is money to be made under the South African flag.



The view from abroad

Since 1965, 34,964 South Africans have emigrated to Canada. Their reasons for leaving were diverse, and their opinions on recent events in South Africa differ. But, as they indicated in interviews with *Weekend Update*, many of them retain a passionate interest in their native land. Some of their comments:

Chengish Bayevan, 51, professor of sociology, Concordia University, Montreal, left South Africa 1987.

We who live in exile want to go home. When that day will come is unpredictable. But it will happen. History is on our side. If the South African whites think it's going to be an eternal paradise for them, they're mistaken. We are prepared to negotiate if the government is prepared to offer us that which is our birthright. A solution will be arrived at peacefully only if the South African government and the international community recognize the need for it. Nobody wants bloodshed, nobody wants war, but what do blacks have to lose?

Thomas Chikomo, 50, actor, school teacher, Winnipeg, left South Africa 1986.

For over 200 years South Africa has denied basic human rights to its non-white population. It seems as if many crimes and tragic events in history have produced tremendous gains for all mankind—the French Revolution, the American Revolution. I don't see why South Africa should be different.

John Shingler, 48, associate professor of political science, McGill University, Montreal, left South Africa 1987. I don't think the situation there will be resolved through negotiation, recklessness and ill-considered international meddling. Apartheid will be eroded by an expanding economy, thereby generating greater wealth for black, white, and colored, will share, and greater social and political classes. There's an awareness on all sides that negotiation has to

be continued. Violent revolution is not a prize worth paying. A peaceful political leader among blacks would have to recognize that the ultimate political structure would have to be a kind of federalism. A unitary state with universal suffrage is perceived by all those negotiating on behalf of the whites as simply a prelude to widespread disorder and

one goes for it in my heart," he wrote. "When we have come to living, we will find that they have come to hating."

Michael West, 35, criminology student, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C., left South Africa 1978.

The situation has reached the point where people are so desperate they have no choice but to go into the streets and show their anger. They think it's better to die than to live dead. The prospects for peaceful change have been exhausted, and the only way is for the blacks to fight back in self-defense. If my optimistic there will be change in



Bayevan (left), Potheyer: fear of an interracial bloodbath, begs for successful negotiations



breakdown. The Afrikaner leaders are not going to accept that.

Maurice Potheyer, 30, artistic director, Canadian Theatre, Montreal, left South Africa 1987.

You can never, I think, see South Africa. The nation are as powerful and massive, and there's the enormous energy its medieval character throws out. Above all, there's the immense physical beauty of the country, so very haunting and difficult to leave behind. One always lives in the shadow of the South African experience. I have a gut feeling that still could change without the total South African people fear. But it's always possible the blacks may come to a point at which they are not prepared to accommodate whites on any terms. Alan Paton expressed that fear in his book *Cry the Beloved Country*. "There's

South Africa. Unfortunately, it will not be peaceful. There will be a bloodbath."

Alan Paton, 77, secretary, Africaners Community Services Group, Vancouver, left South Africa 1988.

It's a matter of time until you see black domination. It's a matter of numbers. By the year 2000 the black population will have gone up to 50 million from 30 and the white population is 35 from 45 million. When folk that their backs are against the wall I see the future an evolution. Another 25 tortoise years. There will be violence but they are not going to topple the place. The government is too strong—they are armed to the teeth. But I don't think the blacks will be happy until they get the vote.

—JAMES BRIDE in Montreal.
DAVID LUTKOW in Vancouver.
ANDREW NEUFELDER in Winnipeg.

Namibia's future

A single surfaced road runs north-south through Namibia. For much of the route, as it crosses the Namib Desert, it is usually seen more as a road than a road—a road for the inevitable wry joke about Namibians buying their books in the sand. But even if the one million blacks and 75,000 whites who make up the 824,000-square-mile territory in south-west Africa could see all the way from their dusty capital of Windhoek to the White House in Washington—where their future is now under intense negotiation—they would be no wiser. Despite a recent flurry of diplomatic activity, Namibian independence remains as utterly remote as its geography. "Some people around here are very optimistic about a breakthrough," says state department official in Windhoek, Ian McQueen. "And we seem to be making progress. But those of us who have been watching this problem for 20 years have learned to be cautious."

Tortuous: Namibia's history is as tortuous as its politics. Nearly 80 per cent of Namibia lies on a flat, semicircular slice of land within 150 km of the northern border with Angola. Most of the area is known as Ovambo land, ancient home of the Ovambo tribe, which accounts for more than half of all Namibians. Settled in 1871 by 48 white South African boers, and shortly thereafter by Germans who made it a colony, Namibia—or South West Africa, as it is also known—was awarded to Pretoria's trusteeship in 1920 by the League of Nations as one of the spoils of the First World War. The mandate handed South Africa the territory's principal commercial asset: a vast diamond continent that also contains the world's largest uranium mine.

In the early 1950s the Ovambos, and

independence and elections. A "contact group" of five countries—the United States, Canada, Britain, France and West Germany—was to administer South African withdrawal in the meantime. SWAPO waged a hit-and-run war with Communist help against South African forces.

The contact group efforts to negotiate South African withdrawal have failed. Pretoria argued that if it pulled out, free and fair elections would be impossible because SWAPO guerrillas would pour in from Angola and quickly take control. Even with a halt, the Ovambos would probably vote along tribal lines, guaranteeing a SWAPO victory. Either way, there would be a Marxist government on South Africa's border—a hostile base for other black guerrilla groups. "As a matter of national security, and South African President P. W. Botha, 'we can't allow the enemy to reach our borders'."

Booby: Angola is another complicating factor. After a bloody guerrilla war, the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) won independence from Portugal in 1975. Using the Namibian springboards, South Africa invaded—and President José Eduardo dos Santos invited some 20,000 Cuban troops into the country to strengthen defenses. The South Africans have since pulled back, but not the Cubans. After the Cuban withdrawal, the anti-Communist force, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) formed and supplied by South Africa. UNITA currently controls at least a third of Angola.

With strong support from the Reagan administration, Pretoria says that it cannot yield Namibia until Cubans leave Angola. UNITA recently, Angola refused to accept that linkage. But last month dos Santos

promised that one-third of the Cuban force could be sent home over the next two years—at South Africa's call and to terms and set a date for Namibian independence. In addition, however, state department sources say that Washington would have to grant diplomatic recognition to the Marxist government in Angola and provide aid for its war-torn economy—conditions that President Ronald Reagan could find hard to accept.

From his headquarters in Jamba, Angola, dos Santos went last week to wrack any deal he went into. He was sharing roles in Angola. Observers so-



ject South Africa to offer to withdraw all its troops from Angola if the Angolans first send home the Cubans. The Botha government may also suggest that a joint South African-Angolan force patrol the southern border to ensure that SWAPO guerrillas are kept out. Any election, would then result in victory for a South Africa-supported coalition. Such an election would not be recognized by the UN but it would provide Pretoria with more solid footing.

Chester Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, and leader of the U.S. negotiating team, told Republican politicians on Capitol Hill last week, "We are starting to play the beginning of the end game." Still, veteran diplomats were wary of sharing that optimism. The road remains through Namibia is well-travelled, but not all its forks and junctions have been mapped. And the obstacles to Namibian independence remain formidable. —WILLIAM LEITCHER in Washington.

De Santos' complications





Nicaraguans rebuff tank patrolling Managua street, preparing for a new application of pressure from Washington

NICARAGUA

Preparing for a showdown

By Jared Mitchell

The tanks rolled through the streets of Managua at dawn. Covered with tree branches and strips of camouflage, they quickly took up positions at the airport and other strategic locations, pointing their guns at the "white enemy" in the Nicaraguans' eyes. "We're under attack," declared Pastor Yaki, a tank commander standing in the hatch of his Soviet-built machine. "We must defend the nation." But nearly a dozen teenagers playing handball took a far more casual approach to the crisis. "The papers are there's an invasion coming all the time," said 16-year-old student Pablo Rivera. "But it never comes."

Indeed, while Nicaragua's Sandinista government last week declared a state of full military alert, the long-haired U.S. invasion that the junta had warned again failed to materialize. Instead, the embattled Sandinistas shed another relentless turn of Washington's psychological saw. Almost daily, American so-called reconnaissance jets roared over the capital, terrifying local residents with sonic booms. Offshore, 35 U.S. warships staged naval exercises in the Caribbean. In Washington, Reagan administration spokesmen publicly denounced Nicaragua's mili-

tary buildup and labeled it a threat to its Central American neighbors. Privately, Pentagon and state department officials said Washington planned no invasion—but would maintain order—fired pressure.

Despite the denials, Managua was braced for an American landing—or at least for one. Already being hit by U.S.-backed guerrillas inside the country and around about extensive military exercises by U.S. forces in neighboring Honduras, Nicaragua president-elect Daniel Ortega Sacaola called up 30,000 recruits and issued Soviet-made rifles to 10,000 students for military training in declaring the state of alert. Said Ortega: "This is the most critical moment that the revolution has faced."

For its part, the Reagan administration dismissed the emergency as an attempt to whip up domestic and international hysteria. Pentagon spokesman Michael Borch charged that the junta was "needlessly stirring up their own population." And Secretary of State George Shultz, at a meeting of the Organization of American States in Brasilia, added, "As far as invasion fears are concerned, they are a self-inflicted wound on the part of Nicaragua." Sources in Washington linked an official document claiming that Nicaragua has 119,000 men and women in its

armed forces and more than 110 Soviet T-55 tanks and 700 surface-to-air missiles. By contrast, according to White House figures, the former dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza Debayle, which the Sandinistas overthrew in 1979, maintained only 10,000 national guardsmen.

Washington did concede—as Nicaragua had insisted all along—that Soviet MIG fighter aircraft were not aboard a Bolivian-registered freighter in the Nicaraguan port of Corinto, as it had earlier charged. But U.S. intelligence sources there said that five other Soviet vessels were believed steaming for Nicaragua, with another. The junta's foreign minister, Miguel D'Escobar, admitted that Managua had received a shipment of Soviet helicopter gunships. Said Pentagon spokesman Borch: "We just don't feel Nicaragua wants to be a peaceful neighbor."

American policymakers expressed confidence last week that their mix of psychological and military pressure was working. Said one senior official: "The positive side is that their future prospects are not that great, so either they will have to change their policies or crack." State department sources reiterated the administration's four key demands on Nicaragua: a cutoff in military strength, a halt to assistance

for left-wing movements elsewhere in Central America, removal of an estimated 2,500 Cuban and Soviet Bloc military advisers, and establishment of a government that embraces all political factions—including the guerrillas, backed by the CIA, who are currently behind the Sandinistas.

The Americans are expected to increase the pressure this week in Mexico, when Nicaragua's deputy foreign minister, Victor Tizón, meets for the eighth time with special presidential envoy Harry Shulbassman. The United States wants Managua to accept changes in a proposed Central American peace treaty developed by the so-called Contadora group of nations—Panama, Venezuela, Mexico and Colombia. Nicaragua agreed Sept. 1 to one draft version of the accord. But since then, Washington, Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica have demanded revisions, including tighter rules concerning verification of the treaty. Privately, Washington has offered to supply equipment and funding, to independent, verification groups that would monitor the treaty's provisions. One option being considered: furnishing of monitoring teams from nations outside the region, including Canada. In Ottawa last week, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark voiced reservations about the draft treaty's verification clauses and said Canada would seek a greater role in the Contadora process.

At week's end, as Nicaragua's fears of war began to ebb, tanks and armor-cars were returned to the warehouses. But with Washington's renewed demand that Managua's determination not to surrender, the prospects for any lasting agreement appeared dimmer at best.

Fish Post Editor in Washington

BRITAIN

The miners' angry mood

The anonymous midnight telephone warnings were chilling. The caller told managers at more than a dozen mines in Britain's Yorkshire coalfield to stay in their offices the next day. "Pickets are going on the rampage." Then, about 5,000 striking miners did just that. In seven hours of calculated violence on Nov. 12, mobs attacked 20 houses and villages, burning cars, looting stores, throwing gasolene bombs, using concrete street lamps and hurling live coal metal bolts at police horses. Fifty-four people were injured and 45 arrested in what one South Yorkshire constable called the worst violence since the miners' strike began almost nine months ago. Added a National Coal Board spokesman: "There was highly organized intimidation on a massive scale."

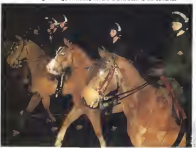
As municipal workers closed bus lanes and rubble from the streets, police and miners' leaders traded charges about the rioting National Union of Mineworkers president Arthur Scargill blamed police intimidation for causing the outbreak. But Chief Const. Poyer Wright described such claims as "baseless," adding, "The very presence of a police officer is seen as provocation because we are stopping them achieving their ends by unlawful means."

The U.N.'s immediate objective is to prevent the miners from returning to work. It has also pledged to keep open

channels that the coal board proposes to close for economic reasons. But there were indications last week that the nation's longest strike might at last be crumbling. Lured by the coal board's \$1,980-a-man Christmas bonus, more than 7,000 miners returned to the pits, joining the 30,000 who had already crossed the picket lines. The union bar talks suffered a legal reversal. Last month a London court fined the NUM \$225,000 for defying an earlier ruling that the strike in Yorkshire is illegal. When the union leaders refused to pay, the British government threatened an Irish court to freeze \$4.3 million in union funds in a Dublin bank. Another \$5.4 million is missing and believed to have been transferred to New York, out of reach of British courts.

At a series of rallies to shore up morale, Scargill last week accused the board of "looking the other way," claiming that no more than 40,000 out of 175,000 miners were at work and warning not to submit to government pressure. That message clearly appealed to the union militants. At one South Wales meeting, several hundred strikers shouted down an attempt by Norman Wilks, secretary of the parent Trade Union Congress, to condemn the violence. Strikers dangled a hanged man's rope as he spoke. But as the drift back to the collieries gathered momentum, it was becoming clear that the all-strike line was on the defensive. —DAVID NORTH in London

Police make a charge on rioting miners a swift haul by the collieries





Farview shortly before his return from exile last June; Sanguinetti, dismal legacy

URUGUAY

Democracy stages a comeback

The neutral plaza in Montevideo was ablaze with multicolored banners advertising the rivalry of political factions. Uruguayans, fed up with the nation's major political parties happily jostled one another, handing out flyers and lapel buttons to passers by. In the streets of the Uruguayan capital, car sound trucks blared a cacophonous din of competing slogans. Savvies the fruits of a long-sought return toward democracy, civilian rule, the downtown crowd willingly forgave the promotional excesses of the campaigners. The reason was obvious: this Sunday, for the first time since the armed forces seized power 13 years ago, Uruguay will hold a general election, albeit within some political limits. As the campaign approached a climax last week, the nation of three million was hoping that the exercise would help restore Uruguay's status as the most durable democracy in Latin America.

The results aside, the moderate campaign has already transformed the mood of the country. When the military took control in 1973 it ended more than a century of stable civilian rule and prosperity that granted Uruguay with a reputation as the Switzerland of South America. But even the military's most vocal critics admit that Uruguay was in serious decline prior to the bloodless coup that established the government of Juan Maria Bordaberry.

Left-wing urban guerrillas known as Tupamaros kidnapped and killed businessmen, burned commercial establishments and drove off a lucrative tourist trade. The avian, at first welcomed the hard-line government of generals. But in a pattern Latin America has witnessed before, the military soon lost favor. Human rights groups estimate that one in every 50 Uruguayans underwent detention or investigation during the junta years. Another 5,800 were imprisoned for allegedly subversive political activity. And torture of detainees was not uncommon. It was, most observers now contend, one of the darkest periods in Uruguayan history.

In 1980, after losing a referendum on a constitution that would have given them a role in national security, the military decided to restore civilian rule. In return, most politicians agreed that the military would continue to play an advisory role in the elected government. A plottish schoolboy for 1980 will determine whether the reform will become permanent.



Thus far, the transfer of power has been careful and orderly. But the otherwise co-operative junta has prevented the nation's most popular and incendiary politicians from participating. Two of the three presidential candidates are, in effect, stand-ins for banned party leaders. Last June the regime jailed Uruguay's most popular political figure, Blasco Party leader Wilfredo Penaranda, after he returned from exile in neighboring Argentina. Accused of having had contacts with the Tupamaros, Penaranda was replaced on the presidential ticket by a portly 42-year-old lawyer and journalist, Alberto Zamora, known affectionately as el puerco (the piggy one). Many observers believe that if Zamora wins, he will consider calling a second set of elections, allowing banned politicians like Penaranda to participate.

Politics in Montevideo were swirling last week to predict a close winner on the presidential slate, but Western diplomats believed that the Colorado Party's candidate, 48-year-old lawyer Julio Sanguinetti, enjoyed a slight lead. The Colorado, Uruguay's second principal political party, favors a mildly conservative approach to stimulating the nation's declining economy, while the Blasco advocates nationalization of foreign banks and

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Walt Disney World

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2. Reproducing a second-floor version of Italy's Campanile tower means paying close attention to detail: from the lion on the right to the far-left golden lion.
3. It may look like we moved the Ohio River to Central Florida, but it's actually a very convincing reproduction of Disney Officer's original blueprint.
4. With 227 Mousmine lighting fixtures and native craftsmen saying the intricate life work the original, most exotic country is grace Epcot Center is authentic to the island's style.
5. The Peasly Kings & Queens, in the United Kingdom, are worth watching for their humorous antics and unique clothing featuring up to 5,000 buttons on each costume.
6. In the village for the Wonders of China movie, a Disney crew had to solve a 300-pound camera up 10,750 stone steps to China's most visible Mountain.
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8. The Level, presented by Kraft, includes the ecological communities, an Audio-Animatronics show, a roller coaster and a rotating restaurant.

9. "Theater 2001" travel through prehistoric scenes powered by two series of solar cells on the roof of the Universe of Energy presented by Exxon.

10. Did you know that 12,000 commuters live in the U.S. today, or that Americans have a higher average income than any other state's people? These and other fun facts are at your fingertips in **Special Computer Central**, presented by Sperry.

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12. In *Horizons*, presented by General Electric, special 20-foot diameter hemispherical screens present the world around us in ways never before imagined.

13. Meets of *Jeopardy!* in Imagination, presented by Kodak, **Figure It Out** and **Drumfire** say hello to **Future World** guests in the background. **SpaceShip Earth**, presented by AT&T, features an outer "skin" with 14,390 aluminum and plastic alloy triangles on its surface.

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17. After replacing that dirt,
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banyans, alligators and over a
thousand of each course's
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18. Over 225 railroads porton
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other pleasure craft make the
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19. A little known aspect of the
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large-scale agrarian reform. A third major grouping is the Frente Amplio (Broad Front), a coalition of five left-wing political parties calling for a state-controlled economy. Although the Front is officially led by a popular farmer general, Liber Sangu, the military has barred him from political activity. The Tupamaros had endorsed the Front and Sangu in the 1971 elections. In Sangu's place coalition members have chosen 76-year-old gynecologist Juan José Cruchaga, a respected politician, as president.

Wherever wins, the new administration will have to cope with the junta's sorry economic legacy. Uruguay is staggering under a \$4.6-billion foreign debt and a stubborn recession marked by 15-per-cent unemployment, runaway military spending and a 30-per-cent decline in real personal income since 1979.

Moreover, because Uruguayan political parties are rife with factions/ism, the new president will not be able to depend on support from more than a small minority of his own party's parliamentary deputies. Uruguayan political scientist Juan Rial predicts that when the winner is sworn into office next March, his first task will be to forge legislative alliances that can break the deadlock. He will also have to deal with the Blanco Party's refusal to recognize the military-civilian pact that made elections possible.

But perhaps the most serious challenge facing the new government will be how to keep the powerful military in check. René Barrios Turiso, Colorado's vice-presidential candidate, "This election could decide whether military rule was just a freak episode in our history or whether we are beginning a cycle." That view is widely shared by Western diplomats. Noted one envoy: "I wouldn't be surprised to see the military come back if the economy collapses and there is social unrest." Indeed, one source close to the military suggested that at least some Uruguayan generals, irritated by political attacks on their prestige, are already questioning the character to civilian rule.

In the heady optimism that characterized the final days of campaigning, some observers predicted that Uruguayan's untethered political parties might agree to form a temporary coalition to weather the difficult transition from autocracy to democracy. Last week the leading presidential candidates signed an accord that calls for cooperation in government at national unity. "Unless whoever wins can hold together that coalition," said one foreign diplomat, "we could have chaos in the streets." And that, he cautioned, could provide an open invitation for the military to re-take control.

—DOUGLAS TWIBBLE in Montevideo

THE UNITED STATES

Trudeau's challenge to NATO

The inevitable bad press was still firmly in place in his lapel. The conservative-leaning *Washington Post* had been impetuous for the serene, Texas socialite Larry Nemsen, Canadian film-maker Teri McLellan said, on his son, actress Margot Kidder. Indeed, in his first major public outing since the Liberal leadership convention last June, former prime minister Pierre Trudeau demonstrated that, in retirement, he had lost none of his trademark poise or knack for provocation.

In a 21-page speech accepting the prestigious \$50,000 Albert Einstein Peace Prize in Washington last week, Trudeau lashed out at the "march posturing" of NATO leaders. In the process, he described their "march" as "a threat to deal with the threat of nuclear war as a crisis." "I bear witness to the fact that NATO heads of state and government must only go through the hollow motions of reading speeches drafted by others, with the principal objective of not rocking the boat," he said. A driving force behind the speech was the fact that NATO's annual summit was scheduled for June 1985.

Indeed, any attempt to start a discussion or to question the meaning of the conference was met with strong embarrassment or strong rejection. That stinging denunciation was in part a measure of revenge for the cold shoulder that the Reagan administration had accorded him during his four-month peace initiative last winter which earned Trudeau the prize. But the remarks also provided the first evidence of the role that Trudeau intends to define for himself as the newest elder statesman on the international stage.

After weeks of consulting scholars and personally reviewing the speech, his debut was clearly a success. Although he had taken earlier steps at the ineffectuality of economic sanctions, his speech was a call for NATO to recognize any first use of nuclear weapons, was front-page coverage in both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* and a coveted

birth on NBC's *Today* show. That reception was in marked contrast to his controversial 1983 visit to President Ronald Reagan—the final leg of his international peace campaign. Then, *Trudeau* rated only a few page-6 paragraphs.

But Reagan administration officials were not surprised by the former prime minister's ongoing critique of NATO policies. Said one insider: "It was not unexpected from him. When you are out of power, you sometimes have to be a little more flamboyant to get attention." Indeed, Washington's reaction to Trudeau was much the same as it was when he held office. Members of the administration decried incursions to the oval ceremony, and the media's coverage issued a series of three-paragraph rebuttal, denials.

"Our appreciation of NATO's political contributions differs from Trudeau's," said one administration official. The former prime minister's first retirement appearance bore all the hallmarks of his often stormy 15 years in power. As author Norman Coombs, chairman of the prime board, was telling Trudeau's "confrontational efforts to break the political impasse of arms control," a "provocative heckler from the conservative Canadian Intelligence Review Institute." "Have you thought your judgment was in any way impaired by the fact that your wife left the room for a few minutes?"

As the room recoiled in shocked silence, a familiar rank of pain descended over Trudeau's face—a reminder that even out of office his ability to capture the imagination can still turn into a double-edged sword. But his return to the public spotlight offered another echo of the old showmanship. In media appearances in Canada and the United States the 65-year-old Trudeau hinted more than once that his political career may not be entirely behind him. "I would like to work the streets again," he said, would "keep me in good shape until I return to politics. If provoked enough, I could get involved."

—MARY McDONALD in Washington

Trudeau under attack

Trudeau under attack

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Marching against Time



Sharon Weglansky

Israeli tough-talking former defense minister, Ariel Sharon, began a slight in a New York courtroom last week as demanding as many of the which he directed on the battlefield. In a \$60-million libel suit, the ex-general charged that *Time* America's largest newsmagazine, had falsely implied that he urged Lebanese Christian leaders to avenge the assassination of their leader, Rashid Gemayel. That advice, *Time* suggested in a February,

1983, story, led to the massacre of more than 1,000 Palestinians in two Beirut refugee camps in September, 1982. In effect, said lawyer Milton Gould, *Time* accused Sharon, 56, of mass murder. But under U.S. libel law, plaintiffs must establish not only that the facts were wrong and defamatory, but that the defendant published them with malice. And that, most observers contend, will be difficult to prove. To end the drought plaguing some two dozen African nations

An unknown country

Albania, a Balkan enclave teetered between Greece and Yugoslavia, is Europe's poorest nation and arguably the world's least known. Its 2.8 million citizens have no regular contact with outsiders and the tight circle of Albanian politics is often inscrutable. But in recent months there have been reports that Enver Hoxha, the man who has ruled Albania as Communist Party chief for almost 40 years, may be dying. Hoxha's death—he reportedly suffers from diabetes and Parkinson's disease—would represent a major turning point. Since Albania's liberation from occupying Italian troops in 1944, Hoxha, now 76, has run a rigidly Stalinist government, breaking diplomatic ties with almost every nation, including such Communist allies as the Soviet Union (1961) and China (1972). The 59-year-old prime minister, Ramiz Alia, asported to succeed Hoxha. Alia replaced then-Prime Minister Mehmet Shehu in 1981 after Shehu died in circumstances that intelligence sources regard as suspicious. Officially, Shehu committed suicide, unofficially, some believe that Hoxha personally ordered him, allegedly for being a triple agent, simultaneously spying for the Soviets, the Americans and the Yugoslavs. Alia will likely maintain the long-standing policy of isolation—with one exception. Next year a 24-km spur of railway will link the Albanian town of Shkoder to Tirana, Yugoslavia—its first rail link with the outside world.

Africa's arid summit

They met, appropriately, in Addis Ababa, capital of famine-plagued Ethiopia. But when the 51-member Organization of African Unity (OAU) sat down last week to discuss the drought and the economic malaise afflicting many black-ruled states on the continent, internal disputes threatened not only the summit's agenda but the survival of the organization. Morocco became the first nation to formally withdraw from the OAU, protesting the organization's decision to seat a delegation of Sahrawi Front guerrillas representing the self-proclaimed Polisario Arab Democratic Republic of Western

Sahara. Morocco and the Polisario have been fighting over the phosphate-rich desert region since 1975, when Spanish rule ended. Then, in a closed session, Chad accused Libyan strongman Col. Muammar Khadafi of violating a Franco-Libyan troop withdrawal accord reached last September. Libyan forces, the Chadian army charged, continued to occupy his country, attempting to destabilize President Hissene Habré's Western-backed government. French officials conceded that Khadafi's troops remained in Chad, but in a separate summit hosted by Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu on the island of Crete, Khadafi advised French President François Mitterrand that all battalions would be withdrawn. With that apparent resolution, the OAU turned to the famine crisis and appealed for greater international aid.

Arafat's last stand

For three months Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat has been shutting out Arab capitals. His goal to convene a meeting of the Palestine National Congress (PNC) that would reinstate his control of the splintered guerrilla organization. This week in Amman the 59-year-old chairman may get his chance. Under the eye and suspicion of Jordan's King Hussein, several factions of the mid-numbered PLO are expected to gather. But ever since pro-Syrian radical elements split with Arafat's majority Fatah faction in 1982, his tenure has been shaky. And with the hard-liners vowing to boycott this week's meeting, many observers contend that Arafat may be waging a battle he has already lost. With the encouragement of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, the PLO militants expelled Arafat and 4,000 of his supporters from their stronghold in the Lebanese city of Typpoli last December. Now, the Damascus-based pro-Syrian wing will likely sever connections with Fatah, forming a rival organization and waging a potentially bloody campaign to assist Arafat. Two groups would then claim to represent the interests of the world's four million Palestinians—a rivalry unlikely to advance the long-dreaded cause of Palestinian nationalism. In calling the meeting, Arafat has clearly aligned himself with leading Arab modernists like Hussein. It is a calculated gamble—and perhaps the only one Arafat has left.

The sympathy factor



Gandhi prevailing

Just 13 days after the assassination of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, her son and successor, Rajiv, last week announced that national parliamentary elections expected in mid-January would be held instead on Dec. 31. By advancing the date, the new prime minister is clearly attempting to capture a heavy sympathy vote that would raise his Congress (I) Party's current 390-seat majority in the 544-seat lower house. The odds are favorable. Opposition parties are fragmented and India's economy is booming. Gandhi himself will run against his own sister-in-law, Maneka, the widow of his brother, Surjit. In a nationwide address last week, Gandhi, 46, vowed to pursue his father's foreign and domestic policies. But with two rebelhouse states—Punjab and Assam—excluded from voting, that pledge is likely to face a strong challenge.

Polinda Santiago just finished a tapestry that was started 1200 years ago.



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Texas-born actress **Jobeth Williams**, 31, says acting was just a hobby when she was a student activist at Brown University in Providence, R.I. "That was at a time," the psychology graduate said, "when you thought the thing to do was to save humanity." Since then Williams has been making her social statements in such movies as *Kramer vs. Kramer*, *The Big Chill* and *The Dogs of War*, and in the TV productions *Adam* and *The Day After Tomorrow*. Her biggest box office role was in *Pole Position*, which she says she thought would be a psychological study of a relationship between a mother and her children, but producer **Steven Spielberg** knew that a horror movie would appeal to a wide audience. Said Williams: "I'm getting older and I'm beginning to look at material that deals with issues that I feel strongly about." However, when she was offered the role of a madcap housewife in the romantic comedy *American Dreamer*, Williams claims she could not resist the part. "I thought it was one of the best roles for a woman I had ever read," she said. "Besides, I felt it was my reward."



Williams: a strong feel for social issues

Maintaining that "people who come from Texas always think they come from the best part of the world," **Laci Bienen Tappin**, 31, daughter of former U.S. president **Lyndon Johnson** and **Lady Bird**, says that her recent move to Toronto provided "a happy resolution to a long-distance relationship" with her husband, Scottish-born banker **Ian Tappin**, 30. They married in March, at a time when he was a director of the Canadian

Imperial Bank of Commerce on the island of Grand Cayman in the British West Indies, and she lived in Austin, Tex. Banker Tappin transferred to the bank's Toronto headquarters last year, where their marriage to former real-estate manager **Patrick Maguire** ended in divorce five years ago, says friends warned her that "Canadians might appear somewhat distant and a bit standoffish." Instead, she said, she found "a wonderful, diverse community with bright and attractive people and very caring neighbors." Although she grew up as a "media baby," the woman who delighted photographers as a teenager by dancing the frog at the White House says that her "low-key" life now revolves around her family—her children of her own and one stepson—and that her political activity is restricted to "putting out emotional bushfires."

Last winter singer **Cyndi Lauper**, 31, was granted the right to declare bankruptcy in her native New York City after the first album with her former band, **Nipsey Gargi**, "went lead." Undaunted by that failure, the wildly plumed and groomed entertainer, who says that she has thought about marketing her brand of fashion and a cookbook that would include a recipe for "gassa in a cup," sought and got a new band and another album. Titled *She's So Unusual*, the album "went platinum" in Canada in April when Lauper appeared in *Time* on the front of 1.5 million fans. Last week, at the beginning of a concert tour of Toronto, Quebec City, Montreal and Ottawa, her record company gave her eight platinum records and one gold in recogni-

tion of the sale of 500,000 albums and 350,000 singles made from three songs on the album. Her concert in Toronto attracted 14,000. Lauper, who says that "there is an emotional place that I go to" where she sings, claims that she earned her success by being "real" and not "plastic fantasie."

Multiple sclerosis (MS) victim **Richard Bearcroft**, 34, reached the halfway point of his planned 16,000-km "public awareness venture" in Athens last week. The British-born, former Ottawa record store manager began his world tour in Toronto on Sept. 26, 1989, and has travelled by customised tri-cycle through eastern Canada, across the United States and through four European countries, including Greece and Switzerland. Bearcroft, who trained for his trip by lifting weights, practicing yoga and transcendental meditation and following a vegetarian diet, took up cycling four years ago. Although he says he is not on a fixed-income package, he has received some donations for his research. He has also had five accidents and has been robbed twice. But after wintering in Greece, he plans to continue through Europe, India and Australia before returning to North America for a second trip through the United States. So far, he says, he has managed to keep his symptoms, including severe balance problems, under control and afforded a message to fellow sufferers: "We can all overcome our handicaps. If we are not living our lives to our full potential, that is the real disability."

—RUTH JE RIVER LACROIX

Bearcroft: homeless and robbed



Photo by J. J. Smith for CTV



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Lauper: singing in 'an emotional place'



Deciding Gulf Canada's fate

By Ian Austin

The rumors began buzzing in Canadian investment circles almost before the ink was dry. The \$15.5-billion (U.S.) takeover of Pittsburgh-based Gulf Oil Corp. by the Standard Oil Co. of California in March, 1984, immediately sparked speculation that the new San Francisco-based owner would soon put Gulf's Canadian subsidiary, Gulf Canada Ltd., on the auction block. Some of the country's most dynamic businessmen were among the likely suitors for Standard Oil's newly acquired 60-per-cent stake in one of Canada's largest integrated oil producers and its \$4.3 billion in assets. In the intervening eight months the speculation fever subsided. But Standard Oil of California, which was renamed Chevron Corp. in July and which wholly owns Chevron Canada Ltd., has had buyers from at least five unnamed buyers, one of them Canadian. Said Chevron chairman George Keller last week, "It is essential that we get a \$15-billion reduction in our involvement in Canada. We cannot live with that much involvement."

Chevron has not yet actively pursued a buyer for the Canadian energy giant. Said Mike Van Wieringen, an analyst with F.H. Weston Hodgson Inc. in Calgary: "Gulf and Chevron are really eyeing one another and sniffing around." Explained Gulf Canada president John Stock to a group of investment analysts in Montreal last week, "Chevron has been so long with the Gulf Oil acquisition's aftermath that they are only just now starting to worry about Gulf Canada." Still, pressure is mounting on Chevron to make a deal, particularly because the California company is carrying a staggering \$14.8 billion (U.S.) in debt—including \$9.9 billion borrowed during the Gulf takeover.

At the same time, Gulf's major oil find in the Beaufort Sea in September—the first by any company in the area—revives problems for Chevron. While the tanker well, known as Amnaukag J-44, may prove to be large enough to support commercial production, getting the project under way will require large infusions of money from cash-strapped Chevron. As well, Chevron wants to sell Gulf Canada because it is, in some areas, a direct competitor of its subsidiary Chevron Canada Ltd. Said Keller: "There is no way we can own 60 per cent of an organization that competes with us on 100 per cent of"



Amnaukag J-44: 'Really eyeing one another and sniffing around'

Keller acknowledged that his firm was approached by two different investment bankers—one that did not name its client, the other representing a Canadian interest whose identity Chevron will not divulge. But their interest seemed to vanish after Keller said that he would entertain an offer only if it included a \$25 bid for each of Gulf Canada's shares, which last week were trading at only \$17.50 on the Toronto Stock Exchange. Wilfred Gobert, an analyst

at Peters & Co. Ltd. in Calgary, noted that financing such a deal—which would be worth \$57 billion—would cost \$80 million a year in interest payments alone. Added Gobert: "That is all of Gulf Canada's cash flow. There would be nothing left over for debt repayment." Daphne Stan Croft, an analyst with Midland Doherty Ltd. in Calgary: "There are not a lot of Canadian companies around that would be in a position to pay that kind of money."

The magnitude of Keller's demand suggests that he does not regard a Gulf Canada sell-off as a first priority. But about two months ago he did set up a task force to address the issue. It is headed by Chevron vice-president Theresa Savage, who now sits on Gulf Canada's board. The plan currently favored by Keller is to find a buyer, presumably one based in Canada, who would be willing to purchase the 40 per cent of Gulf Canada now widely held by minority shareholders. In that case, the company would become a partnership with Chevron holding 60 per cent of Gulf and the new buyer 40 per cent—that could ultimately take over Chevron Canada and sell off duplicate assets, worth about \$1.5 billion, from both of the Canadian companies.

One cause of the delay is the sense of uncertainty at Chevron that resulted from the change of government in Ottawa. The Tory administration has already announced that it will make changes to the National Energy Program, which could further enhance the value of Gulf's Amnaukag well—a find that could increase Canada's total known oil reserves by a full 13 per cent. Under the NEP, Gulf and other exploration companies qualified for Petroleum Incentive Program (PIP) grants that covered about \$1.5 billion of the more than \$5 billion worth of Beaufort Sea exploration costs. Still, Gulf has always been concerned about the high costs of the project. Now, the new government's apparent intention to replace the grants with tax breaks might reduce the cost of further development in Beaufort. As well, Energy Minister Phil Carney is expected to announce the NEP's requirements that Ottawa get a retroactive 25-



Keller pressures to make a deal, a dramatic discovery and billions in the balance

per-cent cut of the energy funds in Crown lands such as the Beaufort.

The Amnaukag well may prove to have huge reserves, perhaps on the range of 500 to 700 million barrels of oil. That is clearly a welcome development for Gulf and its partners in the project,

but the operation will face many financial obstacles.

The main problem is the expense of the underwriting. For one thing, a permanent floating production rig capable of producing 50,000 to 100,000 barrels a day will have to be built on the site at a cost of as much as \$4 billion. Gulf is also considering building a new 40 billion pipeline from the Beaufort Sea to Norman Wells, N.W.T., where it would link up with a pipeline which runs to northern Alberta.

The California oil executives are also awaiting the World's new policy approach in the Pacific Investment Review Agency. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has hinted that an easing of foreign investment regulations is imminent. Depending on their nature, changes in PIR regulations could open the door for Chevron to go outside of Canada to find a buyer or partner in Gulf Canada. Said Keller: "This is a pragmatic government with a long-term interest in improving relations with the United States." Indeed, if Ottawa's initiatives to accommodate Chevron and Gulf Canada, they might provide the first real measure of the Tories' pro-U.S. rhetoric.

With David Poller in Los Angeles, Calif., and Abbie Thomas in Calgary

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Selling a prairie town

Seven people hold "open houses" when they want to sell their own homes. But Ted Swendson, a 44-year-old Calgary liquidation company operator, has applied the technique on a far grander scale. Last week Swendson completed an "open town" sale to dispose of the contents of what was once Manbridge, Man—and his effort was remarkably successful. Hundreds of people from across the province converged on the former nickel mining town 400 km north of Winnipeg for the 18-day discount sale. Among the items available: 31 fully equipped, three- and four-bedroom homes ranging in price from \$9,500 to \$19,500; a curling rink for \$32,500; and a community recreation centre for \$22,500. As well, 11 house trailers, three apartment blocks, a 250-man construction camp, a telephone exchange and a variety of warehousing, mills and mining equipment were for sale. There was only one catch: It was up to the buyer to move the buildings and machinery to their new location.

Falconbridge Ltd. founded and built Manbridge in the early 1970s. The mine operated for five years before the company shut it down in 1977 because of declining ore deposits. At its peak, Manbridge had a thriving population of 300 living along its gravel streets. After the closure, Falconbridge bought the real estate from its employees and held on to the property for future use if it found additional ore bodies nearby. But no new mines were discovered, and a year ago the company approached Swendson, owner of Bay Sales Ltd., and asked him if he wanted to buy the mine's mill. Instead, Swendson offered to buy the town. On Oct. 11 the deal was closed, and three weeks later Swendson advertised his sale in newspapers in Thompson, The Pas and Winnipeg.

The response was immediate. Hundreds of prospective buyers filled the streets of the abandoned town. Then, as each home was purchased, agents parked signs across the windows and locked the doors. By the end of last week, the entire town was sold. The Burlington Curling Club bought the curling rink for \$32,500 (population 200), 150 km southwest of Winnipeg, and the Thompson, Man., Army, Navy and Air Force Veterans club picked up the recreation hall. Said Swendson, who expects a profit of about \$300,000: "I have been selling things since I was a kid. If you come up with the right price, I figure I can sell practically anything."

—GEOFFREY LANGE in Calgary



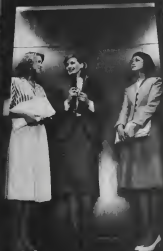
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Toronto soup kitchen: 'There have been failures, some of these measures and help.'

The bishops' plea for the poor

In the wake of President Ronald Reagan's landslide election victory, it was an action hoped to create controversy. In a step that mirrored the actions of Canada's Roman Catholic bishops two years ago, a committee of U.S. bishops last week issued a stinging rebuke of Reagan's pro-business priorities and urged sweeping changes to allocate the funds of the nation's large numbers of poor. Citing Catholic teaching, which emphasizes the common good and the primacy of labor, the bishops concluded in the 189-page document that there have been economic successes in the United States, but "we know full well that there have been failures, some of them massive and ugly."

Prepared over the past four years by a group of five clerics, chaired by Archbishop Bernard F. Cardinal of Milwaukee, the first draft of the "Pastoral Letter on Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy" was presumed to be so controversial that its release was delayed until after the election. In blunt, impassioned language the bishops argued for increased government intervention to ease the suffering of the poor and unemployed. The letter supported an economic direction for the United States that clashes directly with that of the administration. As a result, conservative thinkers outside the church as well as right-wing Catholic lay groups who agree with Reagan's policies rebuffed the bishops' argument.

When he released the letter at a news conference, Weakland—who suffered

an economically depressed childhood following his father's death during the 1930s Depression—strongly defended the church's stand. "We find it a disgrace," he said, "that 30 million Americans live below the poverty line and millions more hover just above it." To reverse the situation the letter recommended that the government undertake a number of measures. Among them: "A major policy commitment" to reduce the U.S. unemployment rate to three or four per cent from its current level of more than 7.5 per cent by using government job creation programs. "A complete overhaul of the 'woefully inadequate' welfare system."

Legal measures to increase the power of labor unions, a greater emphasis on worker ownership plans for corporations, and increased joint action by labor, business and government. "A slowdown in the nation's military buildup, which takes 'resources away from the task of creating a more just and productive economy'."

The bishops' report set off disparities among American Catholics even before its publication. A committee of 21 prominent Catholic leaders, led by former Notre-Dame treasury secretary and

inflicted because venture capitalist William E. Simon, drafted its own sharply differing report for release at the same time. Written by neoconservative social thinker Michael Novak, the Lay Commission's Report contends that the bishops have failed to take into account the capacity of U.S. capitalism to produce wealth and alleviate poverty. In that end, the commission said, the bishops rely too heavily on government intervention.

In its tone and recommendations—as well as in the objections raised over it—the bishops' statement is similar to a letter released by their Canadian counterparts on New Year's Day, 1983. At that time, the Canadian bishops urged Ottawa to shift its economic emphasis away from reducing the inflation rate to reducing unemployment. Bishop René De Roo of Vancouver, who released the 1983 paper, last week welcomed the U.S. bishops' move. Said De Roo: "I am delighted to see that what we call the preferential option for the poor has also become central to the thinking of the American bishops." De Roo added that he believes that the U.S. letter will spark a new debate on poverty in the United States, but his own study appears to have had little impact on the newly elected Conservative government in Ottawa. Said De Roo of the Toronto recent financial statement, which emphasized cuts in spending: "When we do not see any major shift of emphasis but just more and more success for leaving the system basically as it is, then we do have reason to be concerned."

The draft of the U.S. bishops' letter will be debated for a year before the church's hierarchy votes on accepting it. In the meantime, the report's authors appear unlikely to shrink from their critics. Hardly two weeks after Reagan's re-election a slowdown in the growth rate of the U.S. economy is already forcing some major changes in current policy.

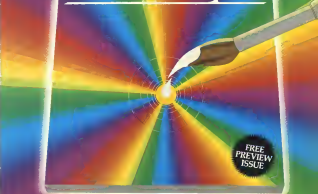
Weakland concluded



cy. The administration has revised its estimates of the 1986 budget deficit upward by \$30 billion to \$50 billion—making the need for tax increases or cutbacks in spending more urgent. By rejecting the issue of economic justice into the budget picture, the bishops' study sharply furrowed the largely Republican advocates of further social spending cuts to show that the measure will not worsen the living conditions of poor and unemployed Americans.

—LARRY GUYTON in New York, with Robert Bork in Toronto

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A rescue that will not succeed

A president of Flyer Industries Ltd., an ailing bus manufacturer owned by the Manitoba government, Kenneth Clark has every reason to resent the advice that his father, a Socialist, once gave to him: "You should smile in the face of adversity." His father declared Steve becoming chief executive officer of North America's fifth-largest bus maker in August, 1983, Clark has dealt with as well as succession of crises arising from production delays, disgruntled customer complaints about mechanical defects in Flyer buses. A record \$120-million loss in 1983 forced the company to fire 90 workers last spring and this month lay off indefinitely an additional 150 employees last week. Then, the provincial government, alarmed by the firm's worsening problems, began a campaign to sell Flyer to private buyers. Admitted Clark "If my father had seen the adversity I have seen at Flyer, he would have given me different advice."

The company's performance as a government-owned corporation has been consistently weak. Since the government purchased the firm in 1971, the bus maker has lost money under successive governments—first, the Conservative, now the Liberals—amounting to a deficit of \$32.6 million.

Since then, without repeated government assistance—totaling \$11 million in investments, loans and performance deals—Flyer would have been forced to declare bankruptcy. Said provincial auditor William Boyce: "It has been a bailout situation going way back." Although the province has already pumped \$5 million into the company this year, government officials say that Flyer will need more assistance before Christmas just to survive. Said industry Minister Eugene Kesteven: "The public treasury cannot afford the losses this operation has had."

Both the government and Flyer's current managers concede that the firm's problems stem from poor cost accounting and ineffective management. Flyer's "wrecking" president—18 different chief executive officers, management teams and acting presidents in the past

34 years—have not provided any one group with the time to get a firm grip on the company's operations. Explained Clark: "You cannot tell people that breaking even is satisfactory. Now can you tell them that it is okay to lose money for whatever reason. It defeats the purpose of getting up in the morning."

Last April, in a maneuver designed to revive Flyer, Clark nicknamed "Operation Recovery," Flyer brought in 22 consultants to investigate the compa-

ny's cracks and loose front axle bolts on other buses, it got a stop order on a second contract worth \$6.6 million until Flyer corrected the flaws. To stop the company's losses, last January Flyer began a special computerized analysis of the Chicago buses to identify specific problem areas. But last month the CTA, designed for more buses, cancelled its new order outright, concluding that it could not wait any longer for the overdue test results. Joe Cattaneo, a Flyer spokesman, said that the company regrets the lost contract but he added that it gives the firm an opportunity to correct "the bugs" in its system. Declared Cattaneo:

"Until then, Flyer will not have the credibility it had and deserves in the market place."

For its part, the union representing half of Flyer's 600 workers, the Canadian Association of Industrial Mechanical and Allied Workers, has reacted angrily to the earlier layoffs. At a Nov. 2 meeting with Flyer's president and board of directors, 30 shop stewards outlined a list of grievances, including engineering drawings that do not match the finished product, disorganization on the factory floor and poorly trained foremen. Said Patrick McElroy, the union's regional vice-president: "When workers have to teach the foremen how the operation works and parts fit together, that is pitiful."

In the next few weeks the government will hold discussions with several North American firms and individuals interested in buying, or merging with, Flyer. Despite its problems, many industry analysts say that Flyer has a proven product operating in more than 30 North American cities. Ontario bus industries, a Toronto-based bus maker, Veolia and Manitoba entrepreneur John Bohler have all expressed interest in buying the firm. Still, if Flyer's immediate prospects do not improve, the union will call for a public inquiry into the company's operations. Said McElroy: "There is no reason why this plant cannot be run in an efficient and profitable manner." But Kesteven, who says that he will consider every option to keep the company and related jobs in Manitoba, is clearly not optimistic. He declared: "Significant losses are being incurred this year. That cannot continue."

—ANDREW NEUFELD in Winnipeg



Clark: several governments have spent losses from the firm

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Sandhu: The outlook is brighter for buyers, but mortgage rates continue to rise.

The mortgage rate slide

When five-year mortgage rates slipped to 15 1/2 per cent in July from about 16 per cent earlier in the year, the increase had many disturbing resemblances to a saddle 1981 spring that ended at a record high of slightly more than 30 per cent. As a result, many potential home buyers delayed making new mortgage applications and the housing industry went into a slump. Then, in mid-July mortgage rates, which follow the movements of the key central bank lending rate, began a steady decline. Last week, the central bank rate fell to 11 1/2 per cent, the 18th consecutive weekly roll-back. In recent sessions, the big five chartered banks dropped five-year mortgages to 13 1/4 per cent, while many trust companies offered home loans of 13 per cent for the same term. Now, many analysts predict another one-per-cent decline in interest rates before they stabilize in 1985.

As a result, the outlook is improving gradually for homeowners. Sandhu, Don Hewitt, residential mortgages spokesman for A.R.E. Page Ltd. in Toronto. "At more people can afford homes now."

Still, interest rates remain a preoccupation for thousands of Canadians because they remain stubbornly high compared to pre-1980 levels. Many potential first-time buyers are hesitant to enter the market, and those who already own a home will not "trade up" in industry slang, because of their continuing concern over the fluctuating rates. According to John Sandhu, president of the Canadian Home Builders' Association, even a sudden downward change gives buyers pause. Added Sandhu: "They fear they will be stuck paying a rate at a higher level than if they waited." That servicers are increased by the uncertainty among consumers goes exactly where U.S. interest rates, which Canadian rates tend to follow, are heading. Said Marcia Farway, an economist with Toronto's Carus, Coopers & Lybrand: "One sharp thinks rates will slowly drift lower next year, while the other—and I am among them—thinks rates will rise by one to two per cent by mid-1985 before tapering off again."

When it introduced bi-weekly and weekly payments. That system enables consumers to reduce the or total interest bill by paying the mortgage more frequently. A \$100,000 mortgage amortized over 25 years at 12 per cent would require payments of \$551.39 a month, or \$6,616.68 a year. If the mortgage was repaid in bi-weekly instalments of \$187.96, the annual total would be the same but, because of the accelerated payments, the debt would be paid off in less than 24 years. The interest savings would be \$4,948. The CIBC also permits customers to increase their monthly payments by up to 100 per cent and make yearly lump-sum payments of up to 10 per cent of the original loan amount.

At the same time, many lenders have introduced payment plans which offer flexibility to those who are willing to gamble. A six-month or one-year "open" mortgage, at a slightly higher rate than a standard one-year mortgage, allows a customer to take advantage of downward trends in rates. Sandhu's Hewitt: "They also jump out of that one year mortgage and go to a three- or five-year one, at a lower rate." Experts point out that most homeowners choose neither over risk when deciding on a mortgage, usually picking three- to five-year mortgages, which last week cost 13 to 13 1/4 per cent at most institutions.

Meanwhile, housing demand remains moderate, and prices are not rising substantially. The peak interest rates of 1981 and 1982 and the subsequent collapse of house prices—particularly in the West—knocked many speculators out of the market. In a report last week, A.E. Page predicted that selling prices across Canada will rise no more than an average of six per cent this year. Company president William Dimes said that lower mortgage rates could reduce prices by increasing demand, but he added it would not happen soon. "In time there is no question that prices will begin to rise. I do not think you will see much price increase in 1985."

The prospect of stable, lower mortgage rates could hold promise for the housing industry. According to Sandhu, before mortgage rates rose in July his organization projected 300,000 new starts this year. But as rates rose, buyer resistance solidified, and now 1984 will end with an estimated 186,000 starts. Should mortgage rates remain stable into 1985, Sandhu predicts 180,000 starts next year. He added: "If housing starts go up by 35,000 to 40,000, that translates roughly into 20,000 or 40,000 new jobs in the industry." Indeed, even the prospect of stable mortgage rates and lower interest rates might be enough to encourage many Canadians to think seriously about buying again.

—MICHAEL SALTER, with David Bell in Toronto

BUSINESS NOTES

A \$3-billion oversight



Marcos: Missing Awhk

A staggering \$3.1 billion (U.S.) of the \$3.7 billion that international financial institutions loaned the Philippine government from 1975 to 1983 has vanished, according to a confidential World Bank report. The respected Philippine newspaper *Business Day* made that revelation last week—and it immediately sparked public suspicion that the government of President Ferdinand Marcos had diverted the money to personal friends instead of using it to offset the country's economic problems. But an official of the Central Bank of the Philippines denied the private sector and the government for the misappropriation of funds. The bank stated that it had not been involved in the disbursement of the funds except "as a conduit to other financial institutions" which may have loaned to business ventures of "a dubious character." The discovery took place just particularly awkward time for Manila. Philippine Prime Minister Clara Virado and Central Bank governor Jose Fernandez Jr. were in the United States last week to negotiate approval from 983 creditor banks for a restructuring package covering \$5.7 billion of the country's \$28-billion foreign debt.

Winning back Tokyo

It was an action which raised optimism that a much-delayed \$4-billion liquefied natural gas project—designed to ship Western Canadian gas to Japanese power utilities—may finally be contracted. The project's future became uncertain last June when its promoter, Dome Petroleum Ltd. of Calgary, backed out as the major Canadian partner because of its own debt problems. But last week, after three days of intensive talks in Tokyo between North American firms and the project's Japanese supporters, agreement was reached on a new partnership arrangement. Senior executives of Dome's original partner, Nippon Iseki, Pan-Alberta Gas of Calgary, Suncor Inc. of Toronto, Unex Oil Co. of Canada, also of Calgary, and Western Transmission of Vancouver pledged to join a new company, Canada LNG Co., to promote the project. Still, the Japanese, frustrated by Dome's continual failure to fulfill its obligations in the past, imposed several conditions on the new company. Charles E. Fong, Dome's head of new utility, insisted that the new partners start shipping supplies as early as 1988. Moreover, guarantees from the Alberta and B.C. governments for export permits, and from federal energy subsidiaries authorizing the gas-shed as pipeline and liquefaction facilities, will have to be obtained by year-end as part of the deal. An official from Nippon Iseki expressed relief that Dome has finally departed. "After they shape up, maybe we can invite them back," he added.

A blow for the jobless

Although the unemployment rate remains at a painfully high 11.3 per cent, a study by the Canadian Federation of Independent Business last week reported suggestions that jobs are scarce. After polling nearly 33,000 of its 64,000 members, the CFIB reported that there are an estimated 176,000 job vacancies

in everything from waiting to accounting in small business. The CFIB study concluded that the jobs are not filled because unemployment insurance benefits are too generous and too long term. If an unemployed person can make as much as \$50 a week in benefits for a maximum of 12 months, he may be very demanding in his choice of a job, the study said. As well, the CFIB cited inadequate government-funded worker-training programs and poor education provided by the public school system as causes of the unemployment problem. A key recommendation of the report, which the CFIB presented to Employment Minister Flora MacDonald, was that the government cut the duration of unemployment insurance benefits to 35 weeks.

Strength in numbers

The giant accounting firms of Price Waterhouse of London, EYK, and Deloitte Haskins & Sells, of New York, moved in step earlier this summer last week when the U.S. Treasury Department's assistant division approved their plan to combine into the largest accounting firm in the world. Now, the firms are awaiting regulatory approval from the British government and the results of a vote on the plan in mid-December by their 4,000 partners in 105 countries. If the merger goes through as expected, the new company will be called Price Waterhouse Deloitte, will have 50,000 workers with worldwide revenues of more than \$2 billion (U.S.) in 1984, overtaking current leader Arthur Andersen & Co. of Chicago, which had global revenues of \$1.3 billion last year. The Canadian branches will also merge to create the largest accounting firm in Canada, with 1,000 employees and 400 partners in 35 cities, and help ensure Canada's offshore will serve 126 of Canada's largest companies and various current leaders Thorne Riddell and Clarkson Gordon, both of Toronto, is now David Humphreys, senior partner of Price Waterhouse in Canada, who will become the new firm's first senior partner, and the merger will strengthen the company's presence in the market and help ensure that other people cannot come in and intrude on our territory."

The price of change



Laanen: coin, an upsur

Dec. 31 as more green notes will be issued, instead, they will be replaced by a coin. The government argues that eliminating the paper bill will save \$5 million in printing and other costs next year alone. The new paper currency only had a street life of 10 months compared to the 40-year life expected for the metal alloy coin. But Britons complain that the 5-pence coin will be too heavy and will wear out faster than the old coins. Canadians may encounter a similar controversy in the coming months. The Royal Canadian Mint has commissioned two new blank manufacturers to develop prototype samples of a new, 16-sided one-dollar coin.

A not so private buyer

By Peter C. Newman

This week the negotiations start in earnest. The most likely candidate, Paul MacIsaac, the freshly minted head of the Canada Development Investment Corp. (CDIC), two vice-presidents of the British Columbia Resources Investment Corp. (BRIC)—Mike McKillop and Tom Brockett—will begin the bargaining that could result in the largest corporate takeover and most massive privatization in Canadian history. A four-month evaluation process will follow this preliminary sparring of acronyms.

At first glance, the Vancouver company seems hardly in a position to take such a huge bite. Because of dismal wood product prices, it is barely in the black. Profit for the first three quarters of 1994 was a pitiful \$700,000 on revenues of \$262 million. But it does bring to the table some impressive monetary advantages: BRIC is 100-per-cent Canadian-owned, is western-based and has well-established business contacts throughout the Pacific Rim countries. Most important, it is one of the few major resource conglomerates in the country that comfortably straddles the private and public sectors.

The notoriously avaricious British Columbia Resources Investment Corp. was launched by Bill Bennett's Social Credit government in 1979 as an experiment in what was called as "people's capitalism," with every citizen in the province being given five free shares. The issue price was \$6 and it went as high as \$9.38, but quotatimes have drifted since then to its current level of \$2.08—only one-third of book value.

BRIC was designed as an instrument for privatizing various natural resource assets that had accumulated in the provincial treasury. Its asset base has been significantly expanded (to \$2.5 billion from \$125 million), as have its bank loans (to \$1.2 billion from \$75 million), but the decline of pulp and lumber prices has flattened earnings. Some 130,000 shareholders across Canada have hung on, but the largest single block of stock is now owned by the Barry Fox Foundation and the CIBC Pension Fund.

The negotiations for the purchase of the hybrid Crown corporations gathered under the CDIC umbrella—Canadian Development Corp. (CDC) and Manx-Papagan—are based on a fancy cashless formula that would involve transfer of the beds of preferred and vot-

ing shares in BRIC, which Ottawa could presumably market when the Vancouver company finally settles in a sea of black ink. Political industry Minister Sinclair Stevens has already indicated that Ottawa would consider an offer from BRIC feverishly.

The main reason this week's bargaining makes sense is that the B.C. company has, since 1989, been masterminded by Bruce Howe, one of the country's most active executives. A native of Dry-



Howe: 'people's' capitalism

den, Ont., he graduated in chemical engineering from Queen's University and went to work for the Quebec North Shore Paper Co. in Baie Comeau in 1969. During his four years in the three-week known output, he became a good friend of Brian Mulroney's, in fact, it was Mulroney who introduced Howe to his wife, the former Ann Ferguson.

"My ambition was always to go into the forest industry," Howe told me in a recent interview. "Brian and I both grew up in small towns, and I agree with the comment he made that being Prince Maurice is okay but who's really good

is sitting in the mill manager's house, putting your feet up and talking about the woods. Of course the north shore of the St. Lawrence is as hard a climate as you would find in Canada. Playing tennis under daylight conditions (mine is August, you've got to stop playing at about 6:30."

After four years in Baie Comeau, Howe joined MacMillan Bloedel and 16 years later became the company's president and chief operating officer. He was tagged to succeed Cal Koudas as chief executive officer when he jumped ship and, at a salary of \$250,000, took on the messy ink package. "When I went to my first annual meeting, I thought it was a lynching party," he recalls, "but the shareholders have displayed an amazing degree of faith and commitment. They treat their investment not as a piece of paper but as a piece of the company and see me not as president but as their president."

Under Howe, BRIC has recovered its corporate direction but not its profit levels. To keep shareholders quiet, he holds half a dozen regional meetings a year and issues his annual reports in the form of easy-to-comprehend tidbits. His board of directors, once the depository for discredited Social Crediters, now includes with BRIC business Establishment types such as Chuck Woodward, Bruce Patterson, Ed Phillips, John Matthews, Gordon Gibson and Walter Roy, plus Donald Harvie from Calgary.

Howe's most significant accomplishment has been to diversify his company's holdings to the point that more than half its income is now from real estate. Western Petroleum, the main energy subsidiary, has been Saskatchewan's most active oil holder during the past two years and now boasts a daily output of 4,000 barrels. Its share of production in the North Sea will generate \$100 million this year.

BRIC purchased Enbridge Oil and Gas in 1992 for \$16 million. Last year that subsidiary provided a \$22-million cash flow for its gas reserves. Large, meanwhile, jumped from 12 to 21 million barrels of crude. "The public sector cries out for an infusion of excellence," says Howe. "We must throw out all the well-padded fads and assumptions stifling the bureaucracy. There is no rule of bureaucracy or regulation that commands us to keep company with lightning and diseases. The world's most fundamental law is growth out of change, and the only compulsion with that law is through excellence."

Mini-tub emergency #22.



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GENERAL ELECTRIC

A stalemate on abortion

At the time, his supporters hailed it as a landmark. But the *Star* is accurate: Dr. Henry Morgentaler and two associates in Toronto on charges of conspiring to procure a miscarriage did little to resolve one of the most contentious issues in Canadian legal history. Indeed, the jury decision that freed such patients rapidly became just another element in a protracted stalemate. After three other acquittals in Quebec, the Toronto decision was another example of juries refusing to enforce the letter of Canada's abortion law. But at week's end, federal politicians had provided no indication that they planned even to review, let alone change, Section 286 of the Criminal Code. And Ontario Attorney General Roy McMurtry postponed until this week a decision as to whether or not to appeal the verdict.

Morgentaler's campaign to ensure free access to abortions has left him wealthy—and burdened by about \$275,000 in legal costs. Said Morgentaler after his acquittal: "From a business point of view, it is madness. I am not fighting for



McMurtry: deciding whether to appeal

myself. I don't feel that I should be made to bear all the costs of the fight. I have done enough already by subjecting myself to the prospect of jail and the wrath of the anti-abortionists."

As much as it may hearten the pro-life forces, the prospect of a successful appeal, forcing another trial, does not necessarily discourage Morgentaler or his Ontario lawyer, Murray Manning. A new trial would allow Manning to recede the same defence that convinced the Toronto jury. It would also allow him to renege the question of the constitutionality of Canada's abortion law under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, an aspect that Associate Chief Justice William Parker disallowed before the most recent trial began.

More immediately, Morgentaler says that he will reopen his Toronto clinic even if McMurtry launches an appeal, and that he is considering testing the law in other provinces, possibly Alberta and British Columbia. Despite the financial strain, the Toronto decision has undoubtedly given new impetus to the pro-choice lobby. Since Nov. 8 the Toronto-based Canadian Abortion Rights Action League has raised about \$40,000 for Morgentaler's defence fund. The league had previously received \$250,000 in donations, so its legal struggle seems certain to proceed—whatever the cost. —*Bill Quince*

MEDICINE

The furore over Baby Fae

On Oct. 26 surgeons at a California hospital placed a valvulotomized baboon's heart in the chest of a 17-week-old girl suffering from a congenital heart condition. The operation at Loma Linda University Medical Center was initially successful, drawing worldwide attention to the team of surgeons who performed the delicate, five-hour transplant. But the procedure also drew criticism from animal rights activists—and some doctors—who questioned the ethics of using animal organs to ease the shortage of human ones. After the five-pound infant known as "Baby Fae" died last week, the head of the transplant team, Dr. Leonard Bailey, vowed to repeat the procedure. Declared Bailey: "My colleagues and I believe that Baby Fae opened new vistas."

But Richard Landa, a researcher at the University of Chicago's department of medicine, disagreed. Said Landa: "Almost everyone knew that rejection was inevitable. What bothers me most is that anyone and any number of experiments can develop hostility from



Baby Fae: 20 days of controversy

the public toward clinical research."

Loma Linda doctors had claimed that the baboon heart transplant was the only hope for the infant who was born with hypoplastic left-heart syndrome, an underdevelopment of one side of the heart. But several days after the operation, Bailey admitted that his team had not searched for a suitable human organ. The 41-year-old pediatric surgeon said he was convinced that the similarities between human and human hearts made the operation no more difficult than a conventional transplant.

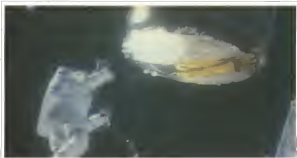
At week's end, an autopsy indicated that moderate rejection of the baboon heart and kidney failure had helped to cause the baby's death. During the first week after the controversial operation, however, it appeared that the young mother—who insisted on concealing her identity in an attempt to avoid publicity—had won new life for her daughter. Baby Fae was recovering well from surgery, gaining infantile weight and looking pink and healthy. But during her second week of renewed life, her body began to reject the transplanted organ. Her parents saw her frequently during her final hours, and at 9 p.m. Thursday she died. Said Bailey: "The last thing the mom said to me was to carry this on—to not let this experience be wasted."

—*PATRICIA HUNTER*

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Allen snaring Palapa B-2 (above); Discovery heading for space; space junk, successful retrieval and quest for about costs

TECHNOLOGY

Discovery's successful salvage mission

By Hal Quinn

Man has been putting objects into orbit ever since the Soviets launched Sputnik 1 in 1957. But last week astronauts aboard the space shuttle Discovery reversed the procedure for the first time when they dramatically retrieved two out-of-control satellites. The space salvage mission, during which two astronauts captured communications satellites Palapa B-2 and Western 6 and loaded them into Discovery's cargo bay for the return trip to Earth, secured \$70 million worth of what had become space junk. At the same time, it added lustre to the increasingly active shuttle program.

The precedent-setting retrieval was part of a plan devised by California-based Hughes Aircraft Co., which has received a \$5-million fee from two insurance companies for its efforts. The insurance firms, Herrett Syndicates Ltd. of London and International Technology Underwriters of Washington, D.C., had to pay out \$70 million to Indonesia and \$20 million to Western Union, the original owners of Palapa B-2 and Western 6, because the satellites failed to go into proper orbit after their release from the shuttle Challenger last February. The two firms now hope to find new buyers for the practically undamaged satellites.

For their first recovery, space walkers Joseph Allen and U.S. Navy Cmdr Dale Gardner approached the slowly rotating Palapa B-2 as dawn over the eastern Pacific, using jet-packs to travel the 35 feet from Discovery. Allen easily inserted a five-foot-long grapple probe into the satellite's spent rocket nozzle and

snapped the grapple rotation with the help of nitrogen-gas thrusters on his backpack. But then Allen and Gardner found that a signal transformer on the satellite was protruding slightly, preventing them from using the shuttle's mechanical arm to move the satellite in the cargo bay. As a result, while Gardner attached new harness clamps to the satellite, Allen, at 335 lb, the heaviest man in the U.S. space program, had to hold on to the nine-foot-long, 1,200-lb satellite for 90 minutes—one complete orbit of Earth. Insurance companies, which have already paid out \$200 million this year alone for claims stemming from satellite mal-

functions, were delighted with the success of the recovery efforts. But despite the dramatic demonstration of the shuttle's versatility, the space program still is a long way from being profitable. Each shuttle flight costs about \$1.75 billion to launch, but the 14 flights have only earned an average of about \$10 million each in revenue, primarily from commercial satellite launches.

NASA has even more ambitious plans for the next decade, including the construction of an \$8-billion space station in permanent orbit around the Earth. But last week a U.S. congressional study questioned the need for such a massive outlay of public funds, arguing that it was "perceived by most of our general public as being well outside of the mainstream of their personal interests and concerns." Clearly, despite the shuttle program's latest successes, NASA still has to convince legislators that its claims on the public purse are both worthwhile and necessary. □



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BOOKS

A feast of T.O. follies

A TORONTO LAMPPOON

Edited by Wayne Grunsky
(Baker Press, 245 pages, \$9.95)

For most of their history Torontonians seemed too busy being smug to be funny. As well, many locals and many outsiders simply thought that Toronto was too laughing matter. This year, as the city celebrates its 150th birthday, its inhabitants have a chance to crack a smile at Haptonberg Torontonians. They have to pay for it. But at \$9.95, *A Toronto Lampoon* offers good humor value. According to Tina Sirochowski's essay "Ringing Up with the Treaders," that fact will be of some import to Torontonians. "Treaders may have big backs, but in this town a dollar is still noticeably a dollar. It is not trendy to be taken."

A Toronto Lampoon is a lovely string collection of essays, poems and quips by 30 writers who send up such noble institutions as Bay Street, the Toronto Transit Commission, Barbara Frum and Mississauga, St. Paul, with the help of cartoons by Montreal's Terry (André) Mosher, a profile of the true Torontonian: data emerge from its pages a cross between a humorless drudge and a person who looks through back copies of *New York magazine* to figure out what will be "in" in Toronto a decade from now, someone who, when he goes to see at St. Mirvis's formal restaurant, does a double second his territorial neck. As for that small cove of Toronto Islanders, writes Michael Earlright, "The women all wear sarafis

and make their own molasses, while the menfolk go to sea each morning by taking the ferry to Bay Street."

The thirder of the city itself also comes through clearly. Toronto has "more donut parlors than lawyers" and it is a place where the vigilante crime-fighting Guardian Angels are forced to spend their time apprehending candy wrappers that flutter through subway stations because no Sen. wags are exist.

A lampoon supposed to be a vitriolic satire. But this *Lampoon* is at best gently mocking and at times almost slavishly apologetic about the city's faults. Still, that fact says a lot about Torontonians and their creative writers: neither are given to outbursts of emotion or expression. Don Harman, who contributed "From the Rhetoric of Valerie Bolefale," has apparently doctored Orwell's led gloves to get an unguessed side to what should have been a rich mine of ridicule.

Romantic. The book offers only a few exceptions to all that Toronto the Good gentility. In *Diary of a New Toronto Moonstruck*, Marc Jackson writes with snide accuracy when he describes the difficulties of combining class, career and child-rearing. Four months after baby Boonie is born, the housewife writes, "Boonie talked today. It just goes to show that letting them sleep with the Walkman are really spends up their verbal development. Her first sentences was 'High-rick' 'nart' (Might-night, Guitars)!"

After 150 humorless years, Toronto deserves a laugh—at its own expense, for a change. —JANE O'HARA

PRESS

Fighting to get the facts

When Parliament passed the Access to Information Act 16 months ago, press critics complained that the new law, which supposedly was designed to make it easier to obtain government documents, contained too many loopholes and exemptions to be effective. And last month a survey of Canada's major newspapers by the Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers Association renewed the argument by citing lengthy delays that have hindered reporters trying to use the act. The report concluded, "Journalists like their information wars, if not hot, and the delays in accessing information are frustrating many users."

Of the 51 newspapers that responded to the survey, only eight had obtained information under the new law. Frank Howard, a columnist for the *Ottawa Citizen*, said that treasury board officials had denied the existence of a report on civil service salaries and job classifications for two months this year until he obtained an incomplete version of the report and sent them a copy of the title page. As well, bureaucrats denied Toronto Star reporter David Vincent access to justice department reports on proposed legislation on prostitution for 10 months, arguing that the requested documents were exempt from the act because they were cabinet documents. Added Jeff Seibert, a *Globe and Mail* reporter who has used the act to gather information for 10 stories, "The act has flaws but it is the wedge, the foot in the door I think, however, that they try to stretch that loophole—exemptions on cabinet documents—beyond reason."

For his part, George Hunsell, director of investigations for information commissioner Roger Hanson, denied that the federal government routinely delayed the release of information. Said Hunsell, "In most cases, the department can justify its reasons for the delay and cost." And treasury board spokesman Robert Jellicoe dismissed the press complaints, saying that most of the requests received were filed as time. He added that although the government sometimes waived fees for ordinary citizens (charging \$11,000 in 245 requests), it rarely did so for journalists. The reason, said Jellicoe, "People who are essentially selling information, which newspapers do, can afford to pay for it."

—ROBERT BLOOM

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SCIENCE

Screening out birth defects

Doctors have long known that women who become pregnant in their mid-30s or 40s run the risk of producing children afflicted with Down's syndrome, a congenital birth defect that caused mental retardation in about 800 babies born in Canada last year. But not less this month researchers at the Medical College of Virginia in Richmond announced that they had found a genetic abnormality which is no even more significant factor than a mother's age in as many as 50 per cent of Down's syndrome cases. And, as they continue to investigate possible links between age and the newly discovered genetic trait, the college's researchers have perfected a simple blood test which will allow doctors to screen parents for the abnormality before they conceive.

Down's syndrome occurs an average in one out of every 800 live births when a child inherits an extra chromosome 21, one of 23 pairs of chromosomes that occur in the adult cells of normal individuals. But in some male and female individuals, parts of certain chromosomes are duplicated, a condition that sometimes predisposes one of the parents to pass on two chromosomes. And Dr. Judith Brown, director of the Richmond laboratory, predicted that the test could be in use within a year.

That development would allow many older mothers to avoid a medical procedure known as amniocentesis, if the blood test showed that they had a relatively small chance of bearing a handicapped child. The procedure requires the insertion of a hollow needle through the mother's abdominal wall into the uterus in order to study cells from the fluid surrounding the unborn infant, and carries some risks. In one out of every 100 cases, a result is a miscarriage. Even if it does not, a positive result forces a dilemma on the parents, who must decide whether the mother should have an abortion or give birth to a child they know will be handicapped for life. Still, many mothers who have the genetic abnormality, researchers will likely be convinced. The researcher who discovered the genetic trait, Colleen Jackson-Cook, said that the new test "allows a high-risk group to be identified." Added Jackson-Cook: "You can have the abnormality and not have a Down's child—but it looks like these people have a 20-fold increased risk of doing so."

—DAN S. STOUT

CRIME

Tracking missing kids

By Shona McKay

Five days after having appeared from his Montreal neighborhood earlier this month, police discovered the battered body of four-year-old Marcell Vinn. For thousands of other parents across Canada whose children are still missing, the tragedy that befell Marcell Vinn brightens their personal agonies. Unlike the Vinn, they do not even know the fate of their children. And in Canada, where there is no central network for tracing missing children, they deal with the horror of disappearances largely on their own. That sense of isolation has also engulfed the parents of Christine Jessop, the eight-year-old who disappeared from Queensville, Ont., two months ago. In similar fashion, despite international publicity and the offer of a \$250,000 reward, the fate of Edmonton's Tasha Marrell who disappeared in January, 1983, when she was 4, is also unknown.

The parents' agony and the lack of co-ordinated tracking efforts has inspired Canadian parents and community groups to take matters into their own hands. Unlike the United States, where the new Washington-based National Center for Missing and Exploited Children is beginning to assemble records on a 1.5 million missing children—including about 200,000 children whose strangers have abducted—Canada has no central monitoring system. The Canadian investigation process is divided among federal, provincial and local police. The Canadian Police Information Computer provides only limited help. Said Brian Scott, 41, staff sergeant of the Edmonton police force's homicide squad, who is handling the Tasha Marrell investigation: "For years it has been up to the individual detective to co-ordinate efforts. And we have been continually hampered by the lack of a central location to report to."

As a result, "good and parents across Canada have recently taken matters into their own hands by establishing networks to locate missing children as well as programs to prevent the horror from occurring. The most prominent of these organizations has reached out to Canadian television viewers every Friday morning since September as part of the CTV network's Canada A.M. public affairs show *How You Save This Child?* In a one-night, nationally broadcast rail call of missing children across North America, 114 viewers with information to call a toll-free "hot-

line" maintained by Child Find Canada Ltd. Child Find Canada, which is an offshoot of a similar U.S. nonprofit organization, has opened offices in nine Canadian cities since it began in Calgary in October, 1982, and it expects to expand into all 10 provinces soon. Already, Child Find Canada has

helped to locate 10 missing children through television, toll calls and the services of private detectives. The company funds the costs of its operation by charging parents \$50 for each child registered. Said Calgary-based Kathleen Macgregor, 36: "Parents with missing kids have very few places to turn to. It was because I saw this need that I decided to start a Canadian office."

That security also confronted Vivian Marrell, 38, manager of an Edmonton bakery, in the days following her daughter Tasha's disappearance. Said Marrell: "The despair was matched by a sense of



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Me: Again, it shows Tegrin gets your scalp really clean.



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frustration. All we knew was that someone had taken her, but the police told us that they had nothing to go on. With great remorse in her mind of Tami said into a child prostitution ring or worse, Murray began to act on her own. She registered Tami with more than 50 missing children organizations in the United States and in October, 1980, started a similar group of her own to fill the void in Canada. The Tami Murray Missing Children's Society so far has only 11 children on its roster.

The contrast between the situation in Canada and that in the United States is dramatic. In an attempt to assist and coordinate the efforts of families and police, the U.S. federal justice department established its Washington centre in June. With a start-up budget of \$83 million and a staff of 20, the centre will act as a clearing house for information on missing children and provide advice to police, community groups and parents. In addition, there are hundreds of voluntary agencies that coordinate efforts to locate missing children.

Perhaps inevitably, the high level of concern over the problem in the United States has helped to spawn a small commercial industry. In Dayton, Ohio, Donald Prijsel, 48, founded the Missing Childrens Network last January. For a price which Prijsel refused to disclose but said results in a "small profit," the network sells the file of 14 nonprofit organizations and applies its 27 affiliated television stations with three 80-second ads a week on missing children. "We feel that we are providing a valuable public service," Prijsel said. Maclean's "We do not charge the groups a cent, and in the first 88 weeks of programming, 22 per cent of the children we have released have been located."

Publicity surrounding recent child abductions has inspired many agencies to seek ways to prevent more tragedies. Across the country, school boards and NGOs have begun offering courses in "streetwise," in which they teach children how to deal with strangers and impress on them the necessity of always making sure that a responsible family member or other adult knows where they are. In a more ominous trend, Canadian police forces and community groups are encouraging parents to have their children fingerprinted to aid a search in case they are abducted. The harsh reality that lies behind such programs was dramatized one recent Saturday afternoon in Newmarket, Ont., 10 km from the town of Quesenville, where Christine Jeang disappeared. Lined up with 750 other children at a shopping mall, and waiting to have his hand blackened with sticky wax and pressed onto a white card, was 14-year-old Kenneth Jeang, brother of the missing Christine. ☐

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The degeneration of ideals

PQ *RENÉ LÉVESQUE AND THE
PARLIAMENT QUEBÉCOIS IN POWER*
By Graham Fraser
(Macmillan of Canada,
441 pages, \$29.95)

PQ *René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois in Power*, Graham Fraser's valuable study, covers events right up to May, 1991—but already those events seem to be part of a distant past. The federal election on Sept. 4, with its overwhelming Conservative victory and humiliating defeat for the Liberals—211 Tories elected, 58 of them in the long-unconquered Gaspésie of Quebec—has done more than end a political regime; it has restored an element of electorality reality long absent from Canadian politics, and particularly from relations between Ottawa and Quebec City.

Nothing in those events diminishes the significance of the meticulously researched look by the man who is the *Toronto Globe* and *Mail's* Quebec City correspondent and an observer of its politics since Meech's sent him to the



Lévesque: compassion and bitterness

province in 1976. His book is both the history of a political movement and the biography of the leader who brought that movement together and led it to power. The 1976 election, which the PQ won amidst the hopes of many, frightened some and enraptured all. But the referendum of 1980 effectively ended any serious consideration of independence. Sixty per cent of the voters wanted no part of sovereignty association. The referendum result, as Fraser tells it, transformed the PQ from a national movement into a provincial party and Lévesque from a national leader into provincial premier.

Fraser writes: "As a national leader, he had been a symbol of pride. He had brought a coalition of dissent together, which won power in a surprisingly short time and introduced a broad range of reforms." But, argues Fraser, Lévesque "failed to do what every powerful premier had managed to do since the Second World War: he failed to keep Quebec's political power intact."

Much of the problem is Lévesque himself. He is at once a cautious revolutionary and a man of common sense and compromise. He also holds "convictions with ill-tempered bitterness," a withdrawn human being who yet can reach out to move audiences.

The same ambivalence which characterizes the premier and so influences both friends and foes carries over into the PQ. It was a party of social democracy with genuine ideals and high aspirations. Now it has deteriorated into a kind of unhappy pragmatism reflected in its attitude to social programs—the party has initiated massive cuts in education and health care—and its attitude toward labor relations.

The PQ's treatment of the public service unions, late in 1982 and in early 1983, was particularly brutal. The government pulled back wages already agreed to in a signed contract and superimposed with existing regulations covering working conditions. Its handling of the early 1983 elementary and secondary school teachers' strike was almost savage. Fraser quotes as blunt and political commentator L. Jan Macdonald, "It was nothing less than the moral equivalent of the War Measures Act." Bill 131, designed to force the teachers back to work, called for firing without recourse or appeal, salary and seniority cuts, and the suspension of both the Quebec and federal Charters of Rights and Freedoms. That bill drew sharp reprimands from the PQ, generally represented a greater respect for both labor and civil liberties than other parties.

Readers should not be deterred by the length of Fraser's portrait of the party's rise and fall. It is amply readable—and valuable to anyone interested in Canadian politics. —FRANK WALKER

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By Lee Iacocca
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CLASSIC BOOKSHOPS

Surviving the car wars

IACocca AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY
By Lee Iacocca with William Novak
(Bantam, 252 pages, \$21.95)

After Henry Ford II fired Lee Iacocca as president of Ford Motor Co. in 1978, Iacocca's wife, Mary, quoted Robert Kennedy to him: "Don't get mad—get even." Iacocca's *Autobiography* proves that he was listening. His account of his firing has been so remarkable that it is easy to feel sorry for Ford. But if even part of the picture Iacocca paints of his former boss—vicious and hypocritical—is true, then perhaps a rough justice exists in the world after all.

The man who was forced out of Ford and went on to revive Chrysler Corp. has written an engaging autobiography in the breezy, conversational style that is his trademark. His story begins on cardboard from humble origins as the son of Italian immigrants in Allentown, Pa., to the corporate offices of Ford, where he launched the best-selling Mustang and revived the Mercury line, to his spirited firing by the man who just happened to control a company. There is even a happy ending when, in the nick of time, Iacocca pulls Chrysler back from the brink of bankruptcy.

Unlike a maledivine hero, Iacocca does not come through unscathed. Scathing rumors about his desire to run for the U.S. presidency, Iacocca declares, "In all seriousness, I've enjoyed I've grown old during my years at Chrysler. The firing at Ford and the long crisis at Chrysler and especially the loss of my close wife [from diabetes in 1961] have taken a lot out of me."

Yet Iacocca's honesty makes Iacocca's revealing reading. The man who he seems to be—kind, honest and effective. These are the virtues that enabled him to save Chrysler by radically restructuring its top-heavy management, ruthlessly cutting costs and securing a loan-cash advance from the U.S. Congress. In the end, he observed: "It's like a war, we won, but my son

didn't come back. There was a lot of agony. People were getting destroyed, taking their kids out of college, drinking, getting divorced. Overall we preserved the company, but only at enormous personal expense."

His account of the politics backing to secure a loan from Congress is especially candid. His attacks on the *Wall Street Journal* and the Reagan administration among them—as armchair ideologues. Certainly, the experience changed Iacocca. "As long as I was at Ford," he writes, "and all was right with the world, I was a Republican. But when I took over at Chrysler and several hundred thousand people were suddenly threatened with losing their jobs, the Democrats were the ones who were pragmatic enough to do what was necessary. If the Chrysler crisis had come up during a Republican administration, the company would have gone down the tubes before you could say Herbert Hoover."

Iacocca's political transformation led him to support Douglas Fraser, then the head of the United Auto Workers, as a Chrysler director. Until then, no labor representative had ever sat on the board of a major U.S. corporation. But, as Iacocca notes, "It's pretty standard in Europe and in Japan they do it all the time. So what's the problem? It's that the average American chief executive officer is a proponent of ideology. He still believes that labor has to be the natural, mortal enemy of the manager. That's obsolete thinking. Only by working together can we take on the world market."

Iacocca's book is full of such strong medicine. And that is precisely what makes the book—plenty read—so nearly all autobiographies are—both provocative and entertaining. Poor Henry Ford II: the grandson of an American hero, he could not stand to be upstaged by anyone in his own party. But by all accounts, he is Americanly obliged to create a new hero for the times.

—GREGORY WISSE

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CLASSIC
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Neil and Neil Young: important lessons in tough packages of private tragedy

Like father, like son

NEIL AND ME
By Scott Young
(McDonald and Stewart,
\$18 pages, \$19.95)

"What the hell happened?" was Scott Young's question as he set out to write *Neil and Me*, a book that explores his personal version of the 1960s prescient guy with his famous rock star son, Neil. The photo album included in the book tells much of the story. There is Scott in the late 1940s, his square chin and steady gaze the image of the do-better postwar non-gregarious adolescent. And there is Neil two decades later, slinky, long-haired, decked out in killing boots and patched-up jeans, on his way to becoming a legend in such central Woodstock-generation rock groups as Buffalo Springfield and Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young.

Neil Young became a malleable whose albums sold in the hundreds of thousands, from Tokyo to Oslo. He and his peers—the Beatles, Bob Dylan, Jimi Hendrix—captured and led the massive cultural shift from popular literature—the oeuvre of his father—to music. Meanwhile, Scott, author of 30 books, including two best sellers, struggled with a manuscript that would not hold in the midst of two broken marriages and watched the young men of his generation reach the success they he had by.

There were, however, always remarkable similarities between father and son. Both men enjoyed a fierce self-eli-

cance in relationships and work—and often suffered for it through periods, inarticulate episodes of sadness. Both men were idealistic, prepared to take stands and pay the consequences. At a crucial point in his early career, Neil refused to appear on Johnny Carson's Tonight Show because, he said, "it would be degrading to our name and our fans." In 1980 Scott ended his 30-year association with *The Globe and Mail* because, he said, he felt the newspaper was falling below its former standards.

But the most important lessons came in tough packages of private tragedy. Neil's childhood pain was followed by a crumbling disc problem, throat cancer and epilepsy. His second wife, Pegi, underwent major brain surgery. Two of his three children, the first from a commercial relationship with actress Carrie Snodden, were born with cerebral palsy—a case of colossal bad luck because the disease is not hereditary. Still, Neil had the courage to endure, even triumph over his troubles. Scott describes how Neil and Pegi Young completely reversed their lives—Neil dropped her murder for nearly four years—to give their severely handicapped son, then, the care he needed. Young's final picture of his son and afflicted grandson curled up in early morning sleep demonstrates perfectly what Neil Young meant in his 1960s song "Stephen's Power." Stepping power, according to both Neil and his father, is the keynote of the new masculine ethic—and the reason why Scott Young has dedicated this book to the next generation. —DAVID MACDONALD

What parents fear the most

LIFE PENALTY
By Joy Fielding
(Doubleday, 353 pages, \$19.95)

Canadian author Joy Fielding has dealt with the sicknesses of modern society in two previous best-selling novels, *Kiss My Ass* and *The Other Women*. While kidnapping and adultery are powerful subjects, her latest book, *Life Penalty*, shows that there is nothing more devastating than the sudden death of a child. *Life Penalty* chronicles what happens after the rape and murder of a once happy family's six-year-old daughter. An anguished, unrelenting and sometimes horrifying tale, *Life Penalty's* concerns also include the greed and power of capital punishment and the public's generally disinterested reaction to heinous crimes—profound and unsettling topics that do not restrict themselves to parents.

Fielding's main character, Gail Watson, is a mother of two daughters who lives in a comfortable house in New Jersey. She thinks of herself as "the face of average America" who had grown up with the idea "that ultimately one ended up with exactly what one deserved." Gail's life is shattered one morning after a sexual encounter with two children find the body of her younger daughter, Cindy, raped and strangled, in a neighborhood park. Because Gail had frequent over lunch and pass shopping with a friend, she blames herself she was not at home when the eating who usually accompanied Cindy from school telephoned to say she was unable to do so.

Fielding's Gail is a woman obsessed. Her heart and anger turn into a determined attempt to find the killer. First, when her investigations reveal as little as the police's, Gail endangers herself by patrolling a lonely stretch of highway where people have been sexually attacked and killed. Meanwhile, her husband's "very make-up" becomes repulsive to her, and, watching her teenage daughter embracing her boyfriend, she screams that Cindy was murdered "by some man who put his hands on her the way you let him take put his hands all over you."

Life Penalty is based in part on an actual child murder whose resolution Fielding uses to give her novel a startling conclusion. But rather than presenting a stern argument for revenge, Fielding has written a poignant story which tells the reader that no one is immune to evil—and that the cliché "time heals all wounds" is a patently falsehood. —BARBARA BRIGHTON

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Shanghaied into adulthood

EMPIRE OF THE SUN

By J.G. Ballard
(Academic Press, 270 pages, \$19.95)

When 11-year-old James Ballard became a prisoner in a Japanese internment camp during the Second World War, he dreamed only about food and making it from one day to the next. But 49 years later, Ballard has shaped his strange adventure into *Empire of the Sun*, one of the most unusual and gripping novels of the 20th century. Runner-up for Britain's prestigious Booker award this year, *Empire* focuses on the spiritual young Jim, whose British father owns a cotton mill in Shanghai. When the Japanese take over the city in 1941, they immediately imposed all British and U.S. children in the city. During the pause that follows, Jim becomes separated from his parents and begins a three-year odyssey in a nightmarish landscape where widespread starvation, terror and violent death soon shatter his boyish innocence.

Empire of the Sun pays eloquent tribute to the human will to survive—although it also weighs the heavy costs that survivors must often pay. At first



Ballard inhales to the human will

Jim hears the abandoned marauders of the Japanese quarter of Shanghai, setting himself and sleeping strangers the secret shreds of destroyed strangers. Then, the Japanese capture him and send him to a detention camp outside Shanghai, where many of the other British and American inmates exploit him as an errand boy. Jim soon learns to ask for food in return, and to endure the camp's regime of weekly rationing better than most. He also sustains himself with the hope of finding his parents—but, ironically, he matures so rapidly during his internment that he soon outgrows his need for them.

Jim's sudden growth is terrible to behold. It is a catastrophic ripening fed on scenes of destruction. Ballard's young hero is so used to seeing people die that he coldly observes starvation victims in order to "detect a flash of light when the soil left." Openly admiring the able, well-armed Japanese guards of the camp, when he considers such superior in fighting prowess to the British Tommies, Jim comes to enjoy the war intensely, especially the spectacular U.S. bombing raids on a nearby air base. Fortunately, another prisoner, the noble Mr. Bamerson, tempers Jim's lingering sense of morality by lavishing many hours on the boy, teaching him Latin and science. Although Ballard refrains from twisting their friendship romantically, the older man's concern for Jim clearly helps preserve the boy's humanity.

Jim's distress observations of life in the camp add up to a fascinating study of how people behave under extreme stress. Few display the nobility of Mr. Bamerson, who works tirelessly for others who rarely thank him. Most reveal the relentless self-interest of the American, Bam, who hoards provisions—the chief currency among inmates—and cheerfully ruins Jim's life by tricking him into probing the camp's perimeter for escape routes.

Empire of the Sun teases with such vignettes, but the book's very comprehensiveness is sometimes bewildering: Ballard will often give two or three details where a better writer would offer only one. And he sometimes exaggerates the boy's impressions with an intellectual clarity more appropriate to a mature man. However, Ballard's story is irresistible, abounding in unforgettable images: After American troops liberate the camp and rescue Jim from his ordeal, he sees the coffin of a child floating on the Yangtze River. It is obvious that the small floating box represents the premature death of Jim's boyhood. Many lose their lives or limbs to war, but, as *Empire of the Sun* vividly illustrates, those who lose their youth must also be numbered among its major victims.

—JOHN BROWNE

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A superpower race to the red planet

By William Lowther

It's their quest for life in space, some think have few clear prospects to guide them. One thing they do know, however, is that there will soon be intelligent life on Mars—human life. According to participants at a symposium held by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in Washington late last month, the only important unanswered question about the first Mars mission is what language they will speak—English or Russian. Clearly, the race to Mars is on.

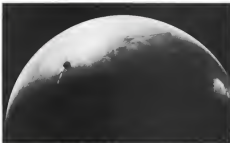
The U.S. plan to launch an orbiting space station by 1990 will be the country's first small step to Mars, according to Michael Duke, chief of the solar system exploration division at NASA's Johnson Space Center in Houston. And Harrison Schmitt, one of the 12 Apollo astronauts to walk on the surface of the moon, told the symposium that a U.S. mission to Mars could come around 1910. But, warned Schmitt, "All data indicate the Soviets are pressing their space program to establish sovereignty in deep space and on Mars before us."

Soviet nation has announced formal plans to colonize the red planet. But Schmitt and others at NASA believe that an imminent Soviet space spearhead will signal the start of the race. Said Schmitt: "To date, the Soviets have made no public mention about their plans for future space exploration. However, an attempt to put Soviet cosmonauts in the vicinity of Mars by October, 1992, the 75th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, is not only possible, it is highly probable." While Schmitt says he is not convinced that the Soviets will actually land a man on Mars at that time, he believes they will at least orbit the planet.

As with so many other Soviet projects, the evidence is fragmentary. But there are three major indications that the Soviets are heading for Mars. The first, Duke told Moscovitz, is the experience in marathon missions aboard the orbiting Salyut space station. That fall

three Soviet cosmonauts returned from a record 191-day expedition aboard Salyut 7, which is about the period it would take a spaceship to reach Mars. The second comes from U.S. intelligence reports that the Soviets are building a new booster system about the size of the Saturn V rocket, which took the U.S.

first space race. Speaking at the NASA symposium, Schmitt contended that enthusiasm for Mars missions in the United States may already be sufficient to sustain a major effort without the added impetus of a Soviet challenge. Said Schmitt: "The idea of Americans one-day living on



Mars, Schmitt (below) will be the first intelligent life on Mars speak Russian or English?

astronauts to the moon. Said Duke: "It has Mars capabilities." Third, said Duke, recent Soviet scientific journals have contained an abundance of material on Mars. "Mars is clearly a target," he added. "The Soviets have advanced capabilities in space. They have not performed a big, exciting space event for a long time. They are due."

But Duke says he does not believe the Soviets will be capable of mounting a trip to Mars by 1992. Instead, he speculates that as the 75th anniversary of the revolution in Moscow may announce a massive Mars program with the objective of a manned landing at the end of the century. Even that will put enormous pressure on Washington to match the pace. According to Duke, just as the landing of Sputnik 1 in October, 1957, triggered the

Mars has produced a level of excitement in the younger generation [the nation] else in the last century." Nor will the lack of technical capabilities inhibit a Mars program. Added Schmitt: "There is very little technical distance between us here today and a manned base on Mars." The problem is money. Mounting a Mars mission would require a huge U.S. commitment to Mars, although no one is prepared to make a guess about how much. To help fund the funds, NASA will likely capitalize on the Soviet threat to enhance Mars while at the same time pressing ahead with its own stepping-stone projects.

NASA took its first tentative step toward Mars when President Ronald Reagan authorized in 1961 a space station. Last January and NASA administrator James Beggs

told the symposium that a permanent U.S. lunar base, to be completed by the first years of the next century, would be a "rational extension of our program to expand human activities in space." Adds Beggs: "We will return to the moon not only to mine its oxygen-rich rocks and other resources, but to establish an outpost for further exploration and expansion of human activities in the solar system—in particular on Mars and the near-Earth asteroids."

The prospect of mining lunar oxygen is not as ludicrous as it seems. Nearly half of the moon's composition is oxygen, and chemically extracting it from lunar rocks could provide fuel for rockets that would be launched from moon orbit on trips to Mars and beyond. The reason: liquid hydrogen, which could also be manufactured on the moon, mixed with the oxygen in a basic propellant. Former U.S. astronaut Russ Auluck told Moscovitz that materials for use in space exploration can also be mined on the moon. Lunar rocket launches would not have to overcome the difficulties of breaking through Earth's gravity, which is six times stronger than the moon's. Lower gravity would also ease the job of lifting material from the moon into space, according to Auluck. For the purpose of reaching Mars, he said that the moon could serve as a gigantic "gas station in the sky."

Although NASA has yet to seek political approval for its lunar base, U.S. space scientists speaking at the conference produced studies describing its main elements. The first stage will feature craters and a comfortable submarine-like units similar to those planned for the space station, which will be buried in the lunar soil to shield them from radioactivity. Ultimately, the settlement will have five basic components of a more luxurious future: according to space scientist Guillermo Torres of the University of Houston. There will be a space port, a communications and civic center, a housing and recreation complex, an academic center and an industrial component to produce telecommunications, workshops and refineries necessary to produce food and exports. With factories producing oxygen and water, as many as 100 residents will be able to stay for a year or more.

As the first step on the highway to Mars, the U.S. moon station will mark a fundamental change in the role of the astronauts. They will no longer be visitors, but rather colonizers. It is a thought that even makes scientists lyrical. Concluded one report: "The exploration of space touches the most profound elements of human nature. It invites us to achieve our full potential and challenges us to achieve our full potential. It confronts us with the awesome beauty of creation." ☐

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RELIGION

A theology comes of age

Since its birth in the 1960s, the school of thought within the Roman Catholic Church known as "liberation theology" has gained widespread support in political and social activists. But that support seemed threatened earlier this fall when the Vatican issued a document that took exception to what it called the movement's Marxist elements, ordered four priests to resign from Nicaragua's leftist government and "invited" to Rome a prominent Brazilian theologian to discuss his published works on the subject. Then, Catholics who interpreted the actions as official suppression of the position were surprised when Rev. Peter-Elias Kolvenbach, chairman general of the Jesuit order last year, told in an interview in New York last month that he supports liberation theology. Said Kolvenbach: "The promotion of justice is a mission given to every Jesuit, pastor, educator or social worker."

Kolvenbach, 55, criticized what he called the negative aspects of the Vatican document and said that when dealing with social and economic problems it is sometimes "absolutely necessary to use the terminology of Marxism." Added Kolvenbach: "You cannot say that you should never use a term like the 'struggle of class.' It is something that exists." Although he stopped short of endorsing Christian use of such Marxist concepts as class warfare, Kolvenbach praised the politically active Jesuits of South and Central America, saying, "They opened our eyes to the need for liberation."

Since the Vatican issued its official statement on Sept. 14, church spokesmen have denied that the church's intention was to suppress liberation theology. They have also distanced notions that the church timed the appearance of the document intentionally to coincide with the discipline of the priests—who have refused to resign from Nicaragua's Sandinista movement—or the call to Rome of Brazilian theologian Leonardo Boff. The spokesmen have pointed out that the church's actual position on the controversial movement will be made clear when it issues a second document, which is expected before Christmas. Kolvenbach, for one, said that he expects the new statement to deal more positively with the issue.

Other observers agree that the Vatican's initial negative reaction does not portend a church policy that is opposed to liberation theology. Recent state-



Kolvenbach: unavoidable Marxist terms

ments by Pope John Paul II, who ordered the original Vatican report, have encouraged that view. In Edmonton on Sept. 17 he sharply denounced political and economic oppression in poor countries. And last month, during a visit to the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, he again appealed for social justice while carefully avoiding Marxism as a means of achieving it.

Some commentators maintain that the slow evolution of a church policy on social activists is due to its origins in Latin America. Said Rev. Kenneth Schibler, assistant for social justice to the Bishop in Montreal: "Almost all previous theologies have been Europe-based, so the Vatican is now faced with a different approach and is trying to come to grips with it." And the overwhelmingly Catholic populations of Latin American countries create a powerful incentive to accommodate the new thought. Said Kolvenbach: "The Holy Father really believes that the church of the two Americas, North and South, is the church of the future."

Whatever the outcome of the debate, it is clear to a layman in Latin America that the young theology is coming of age and will not disappear as orders from abroad. Said Schibler: "Having recently talked to certain people in Latin America, I can assure you that liberation theology is alive and well." —PATT BENTON

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FASHION

Skirts that draw stares

Matthew Gould and Daniel Cokerline are living in a sartorial wilderness: the two young Torontonians are among the very few men who have gone beyond the frontier of current male fashion and taken to wearing skirts. Although most men are unlikely to exchange trousers for skirts in the near future, there are some signs that men's skirts—following precedents set by the Scottish kilt, the pleated Greek chiton and sarong worn by many South Asian men—could become popular in a few trend-setting circles. Such pop moments as Boy George and David Bowie, who enjoy large followings among young men, have worn female attire while onstage in recent years. And again this fall Parisian couturier Jean-Paul Gaultier and designers at London's Body Map presented male models in an array of skirt designs on fashion show runways. The response from the street fashion community was mostly dismissive, but some observers hailed the development as a major breakthrough. Declared mainstream Parisian designer Daniel Hechter: "It is the most important thing to happen in fashion in the past 20 years."

Gaultier, one of Europe's most adventurous designers, is the foremost advocate of skirts for men but he insists that he is not trying to erase sex differences. Declared Gaultier: "Men and women can wear the same clothes and still be men and women. It's fun." But Toronto fashion designer Bernard McGee, whose sketches for women feature masculine details, argues that Gaultier is just trying to generate publicity.

Still, men have already appeared in skirts on the streets of New York, Paris and London, where many fashion developments have their beginnings. And in Toronto, Gould and Cokerline are part of a small group of young men who confidently wear skirts everywhere from the supermarket to concert performances. Gould admits that he feels slightly self-conscious in his bright-red kilt, which was a 1982 Christmas gift from his parents' birthday. As a result, the 27-year-old painter complains his outfit with a tweed jacket, brogue shoes and tasseled socks, creating the impression that he is wearing some sort of elaborate costume. Yet when he visits his

family's farm near Mayerthorpe, Alta., he wears skirts and full-length dresses, "provided that they have a masculine cut."

For his part, Cokerline dons his two skirts—a brown kilt and a black, ankle-length skirt—far polished, as well as elaborate reasons. Declared the 32-year-



Gould, Cokerline: beyond fashion's frontier

old senior: "I wear a skirt as a way of saying that men are not naturally masculine and that the whole idea of masculine and feminine is socially constructed." Cokerline is not interested in masquerading as a woman or becoming more feminine and often wears his black skirt with a tweed jacket. Said Cokerline: "I am definitely a man in a skirt, and that is a very threatening thing." Added Gould: "My kilt is really comfortable and easy to wear, and I think men look wonderful in skirts." Still, Martin Grundy, a marketing manager at Toronto's two Italian designers, doubts that many men will follow their example. Said Grundy: "I do not think you are going to see businessmen wearing skirts, comfortable or not."

—PATRICIA MURPHY

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 BLUE CROSS

A contraceptive dilemma

By Pat Ohlendorf

A pharmacist in Tucson, Wis., recently telephoned the U.D. Searle Co. of Skokie, Ill., and asked why his new shipment of Searle birth-control pills, called Ovulen-II, looked different from previous batches. The company

had already received three complaints from doctors that its pills were causing abnormal bleeding. Searle had attributed that to an unfortunate side effect—but when another pharmacist from Chicago asked why the product had decreased in price, company officials became concerned. Since then, investiga-

tors have located nearly 60,000 counterfeit packages of the pill in 22 states in the U.S. South, Midwest and Northeast. The two bogus lots, one labelled 441 and the other 498, provide only limited protection against conception. More alarming, authorities fear the copies could be the first indication of a widespread phony U.S. drug business.

It was a bad week for contraceptive users. After Searle and U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) agents began their investigation on Oct. 24, TV and newspaper advertisements urged women wearing intrauterine devices (IUDs) to contact their doctors immediately. The A.H. Robins Co. of Richmond, Va., maker of the *Dalkon Shield* IUD, began its unprecedented media campaign to warn all remaining users against the product, which has caused infection, sterility, miscarriages and even death since the early 1970s.

While Robins sounded the alarm against IUDs, Searle spokesman Mark Brand expressed concern that "women using what they believe to be Ovulen-II may become pregnant." Before the week was over, investigators had narrowed down the source of the phony pills, which are slightly different from genuine Ovulen-II in packaging and appearance, to two New York wholesalers. But the culprits were still at large.

Neither Searle nor the FDA would speculate on the identity of the counterfeiters. But Brand doubted that another drug company would "play with the health and welfare of 100,000 women." Donald McLearen, a spokesman for the FDA, said he felt that—in contrast to last year's still-unresolved Tylenol poisonings—the counterfeiters are probably motivated only by profit. But he acknowledged fears that the Ovulen case may be only the beginning.

Counterfeit prescription drugs are common in other parts of the world, such as Southeast Asia. And two years ago U.S. federal agents in Florida seized \$5 million worth of bogus Quaaludes, a sedative often sold on the street to drug abusers. Recently a U.S. House of Representatives subcommittee claimed that 12 Americans have died from using counterfeit drugs. Acknowledged McLearen: "Until we get to the manufacturers, we don't know what they are making. There is a possibility something else is out there."

If counterfeit contraceptives are novel in the United States, Robins' massive drive to recall dangerous IUDs is unique. But the \$4 million that the company has spent on ads and letters to 850,000 doctors since Oct. 26 is likely equivalent to the \$204 million it has paid victims of the *Dalkon Shield* since 1974. Said Thomas Fox, Robins' manager of public relations: "This is our attempt to put the *Dalkon Shield* chapter behind us." Fox

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claimed that the company has no way of determining how many women are still using the device, and added, "Even if there are only 10 women still out there wearing it, they are all in the high-risk category because the device has been in at least nine years."

In the current campaign, Rahlin has offered to pay women for visits to doctors—even if they only want to check which type of IUD they are using—and for replacing Dalkon Shields with other devices if necessary. Soon after launching the campaign, Rahlin offered to conduct similar trials in 30 other countries, including Canada, where the Dalkon Shield was sold.

Rahlin's voluntary ad campaign follows years of bitter criticism of the IUD and its manufacturer. In 1980, former Dalkon Shield users or their families have filed 11,800 lawsuits against the company for claims ranging from serious infections to about 30 deaths. In 1979 the company paid one Colorado woman \$6.5 million in compensation and punitive damages for pelvic inflammatory disease and an ensuing hysterectomy, and for a time this year women were filing suits at the rate of 30 per week against Rahlin. In hearing a number of such suits last February, federal district court Judge Miles Lord of Minneapolis called the company's failure to recall the product "corporate irresponsibility at its worst." He felt that taking the Dalkon Shield off the market in 1974 and sending letters of warning to doctors in 1980 was not enough.

For their part, Rahlin executives maintain that their 200-27 million U.S. women case were it is no more dangerous than others. Real P. "Any company making an IUD now is solving for trouble. To implant a foreign object in a woman's body for birth control is dangerous." The company is no longer manufacturing any IUDs, and officials say that it does not intend to.

In Canada, health authorities are watching both the court-ordered recall of such pills and the IUD recall closely. So far, no Canadian Dalkon Shield has appeared in the nation. The Dalkon Shield is of greater concern, and provincial health departments will soon be considering Rahlin's proposal to conduct a Canadian recall campaign. Although federal officials lack reliable statistics, Health and Welfare spokesman Doug Sellar said that the number of IUDs being sold in Canada has declined noticeably since the mid-1970s, although doctors still occasionally see women who are using the Dalkon Shield. Sellar said, "Since all IUDs deteriorate over time, we receive a certain percentage three or four years. The good thing about the Rahlin recall is that it is reminding all women to have their IUDs checked or changed."

THEATRE

Hard times, no favorites

Last week in Montreal, the board of the Théâtre du Nouveau Monde (TNM)—the Quebec theatre that, like Stratford, is a cultural flagship—announced that it would close operations for the 1986-87 season and lay off all its staff except artistic director Olivier Beaudouin. The theatre's financial troubles had been public knowledge for months, but the decision to shut down was a major setback for Quebec culture. Said Jean-Louis Roux, head of the National Theatre School and a co-founder of the TNM in 1961, "This is part of our cultural past and present, and it would be catastrophic if it disappeared."

TNM's problems are a direct result of the financial difficulties caused by the building it owns on prime real estate in downtown Montreal. Operating costs have risen more rapidly than box office receipts and government subsidies. By 1982, TNM had a \$8-million deficit which the Canada Council and the Quebec Ministry of Cultural Affairs jointly erased. A strike by actors, costume makers and barbers helped delay the fall season opening—and the deficit has risen again to more than \$1 million. TNM had been negotiating with an unexpected white knight—McDonald's hamburger chain, which said that it intended to purchase the land, build an upscale restaurant and return TNM to its building as a tenant. But when McDonald's notified TNM last week that its decision would be delayed, the theatre company immediately halted all operations and sent cheques for the 1986-87 season tickets back to 4,500 subscribers. McDonald's Canadian vice-president Jack Baskerville criticized TNM's reaction. "They're putting pressure on us by talking to the press. This is a business deal, and we are not going to have a play just because we have a building."

Many members of Quebec's cultural community expressed surprise at the provincial government's refusal to help TNM. In the national assembly last week, Culture Minister Glenise Richard said it would be "patently unjust" in other Quebec theatres struggling with financial problems to single out TNM for special aid. Beaudouin said that in addition to the potential buyers in economic hard times, Beaudouin's response was strained but pragmatic. "This will at least give us time to negotiate and rebuild TNM from scratch."

— MARK CHAMBERS



Waterston, he could flash an American passport when the going got rough

FILMS

Enduring human cruelty

THE KILLING FIELDS
Directed by Roland Joffé

Among the most slaughterous to darken the 20th century, war surpasses the crimes that the Communist Khmer Rouge government committed in Kampuchea. Between the time that it seized power in 1975 and its overthrow four years later, the Khmer Rouge's leaders executed or starved to death an estimated three million of their own million countrymen. That tragedy forms the bloody, riveting background of *The Killing Fields*, a film about two friends struggling to escape the indifference, passivity of history. British director Roland Joffé tells their gripping tale while constantly keeping in focus the larger catastrophe of Kampuchea itself. The result is this rare phenomenon, a moving film epic.

The Killing Fields closely follows the actual story of Sydney Schanberg, a journalist for *The New York Times* who was in Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital, at the time of the Khmer Rouge takeover. One of the most accomplished American reporters in Southeast Asia, Schanberg credited much of his success to his close-brother guard, interpreter and close friend, Dith Pran. On one occasion Pran risked his own life to save Schanberg and several other journalists from being a streetwise, determined by the public Khmer Rouge soldiers. Later, Schanberg found himself helpless to

rescue Pran when the new rulers of Kampuchea ordered him to join the citizens of Phnom Penh in a mass exodus from the city.

Sam Waterston (*The Great Gatsby*, *Moon's Gate*) gives the headlined Schanberg the hard-edged compassion of a driver who works harder than most of his fellow reporters. Indeed, Fields initially threatens to revert to the familiar Hollywood pattern of the lone hero champagne—as champagne—as a way to success. But gradually Bruce Robinson's intelligent screenplay begins to erode such of Schanberg's professional and moral judgment. The reporter finally admits that Pran refused to escape Phnom Penh while there was still time "because I wanted to stay. And I wanted to stay because..." In that understated sentence all the pain, confusion from a rich nation who can indulge his ambitions because, when the going gets rough, he can always flash his U.S. American passport. This gift, which can never be fully stated, is one that *The Killing Fields* makes its viewers experience.

To play the part of Pran, Joffé enlisted Haing S. Ngor, a former Cambodian doctor now living in California, who had himself suffered brutal exile to the Kampuchean countryside. Although he is not a trained actor, Ngor continually impresses with his charm and authenticity in a role in which he must often communicate only in Cambodian at

Our blandness is the best defence

By Allan Fotheringham

Zune, Dr. Foth, am I ever glad to jump into you after all this while!

Delicately precisely the specificities of your inimitable ignorance

"Well, sir, the reason true that you have become a Yank?"

Newer. The moon will turn into blue cheese and Erik Nielsen will develop chins before that ever happens

Well, Sir, why have you moved to Washington?

Because the inequality of nations One must spread one's talents around

Now that the main task of later life, the eradication and removal of the detested Liberals has taken place, one must move on and save another country

It's only fair to the Americans. They need salvation too

Do they realize how lucky they are?

Considering the fact the Good Doctor can't get White House security clearance or a parking spot, apparently they do

Could you tell us, in a few words, how you plan to save America?

The same formula. Constructive advice. Moral guidance. Supportive praise. Selected nagging. In general, anything that will lead to the uplifting of society's finest dreams and aspirations. I think they'll appreciate it. After all, they are a generous people

Do you plan to have any help in this project?

Indubitably. My friend Paul Robinson, the U.S. ambassador to Canada, who as they say is the only bull who carries his own china shop around with him, is my guiding force. I will pattern my activities after his.

Is it true that Nancy Reagan is the secret power behind her husband?

Behind those serving eyes, not upward at his podium pose, is Edgar Bergen. At the podium is Charlie McCarthy. What we have here is something more powerful than Geraldine Ferraro. The feminists don't know this, but that lady is in the closet. A card-carrying member. Sense (by the track) will be told

After Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News

Do you find any difference between Washington and Ottawa, one of your favorite cities?

Yes. In Washington the men's trousers end around their ankles, and all parties end abruptly at 10 p.m., namely because the heavy British have to get up early for an 8 a.m. business breakfast that opens with a prayer

Do you mean Ottawa parties last past 10 p.m.?

No. No one in Ottawa on-the-Robert goes out after dark, because they're sitting indoors, watching old reruns of *Cheswick*. Besides, the gas stations

spatial pop chewing on a slipper. He believes all things are possible.

Are all things possible?

It depends on whether Kenzie Kesner's hearing aid throws a piston in the next few years. Mulroney has an Irish friend in the White House and a valuable bridge with Allan and Sandra Gubbish at the Canadian Embassy in Washington

Are the Gubbish's cocktail parties really as glittering as the social pages claim?

All I know is that whenever Reagan finds someone missing from a cabinet meeting, he phones Gubbish's shed to check the table setting. It's rumored the invasion of Nicaragua was executed in the Gubbish's men's room

But really, what's it like being so close to the red hatter that could blow us all up?

That's not the real problem that consumes the town, not the criminal matter

Proy tell, what's that?

Well, Art Buchwald and Henry Kissinger and their pushy friends commandeer all the tennis courts. The second most important thing in Washington, next to the business breakfast that opens with a prayer, is the fight to

down the bar.

You're saying, then, that Washington is rather obsessed with this?

Was Athens? Was Rome? The chaos know that this is where it is happening and, after the power breakfast and tennis in charge of it, we'll blow up Central America. Everything is in the proper perspective

How do you then see, sir, the future relationship between the Great White North and the United States of America?

Happily, perhaps. Ignorance is our best hope. Invisibility is our best guide. The more they forget we exist, the less chance they will send us the muzzies. Our blandness is the best defence we will ever have. Smother them with boredom. Let's keep that smog flying

One, though, Dr. Foth, your juxtaposition of the situation certainly warrants change for me

No probs



close at hand

Why do Ottawa gas stations close at dusk?

It is a mystery that has always escaped me. Otherwise, I suppose, they'd go broke. Whatever Ottawa people do when the gas goes down, they do it behind their curtains. Ask Mackenzie King

Get serious. What do you find to be the significant differences between Americans and Canadians?

Americans really believe that anyone can make a million. These who do have a lot of fun. Those who don't, they go as green as grass. In Canada, people have the modern belief that one should not try too hard. Both having fun and green stamps, among Canadians, are considered not a good idea

In this a metaphysical might into Brian Mulroney's nose?

Mulroney is a freak, if you really want to know, in that he thinks politics can be fun. At the moment, he's like a rocker



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